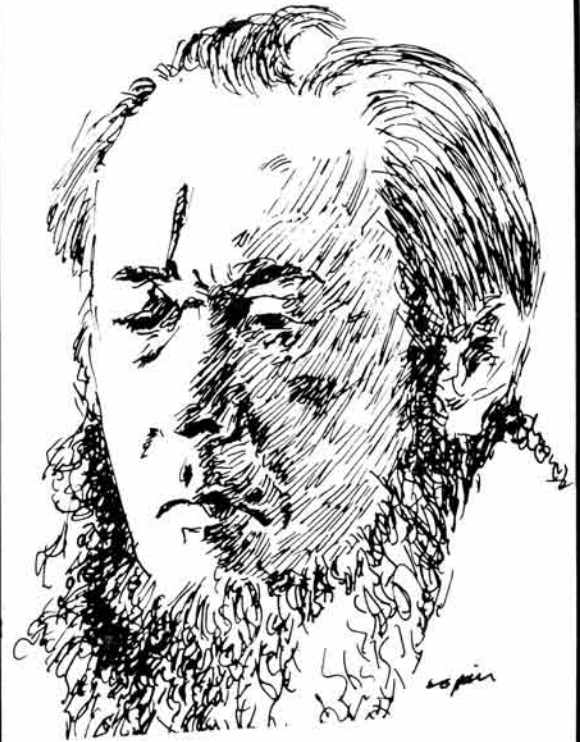


Solzhenitsyn's 'Gulag Archipelago'



Nixon Threatened by New Watergate 'Bombshells'

Geneva Conference: Dealing Behind the Back of Arab Masses

Watergate Miracle

Charles Colson, the Nixon gangster who used to head the White House "office of dirty tricks," has announced his conversion to a new cause. Colson, whose devotion to the fortunes of Richard Nixon was expressed in the widely quoted remark "I would walk over my grandmother if necessary" to secure Nixon's reelection, is now campaigning for religion. "I have found in my own life the relationship with Christ," Colson told William Greider of the *Washington Post*.

Colson denies that his piety is designed to impress grand juries considering his role in the Watergate scandal: "Someone asked me last week whether people wouldn't say I was hiding behind God to escape from Watergate. My answer to them was, if someone wants to say that, I'll pray for them. That's all I can say." Hardened skeptics presumably will be added to a divine "enemies list."

Senator Harold Hughes, a liberal Democrat who is leaving his office to become a religious worker, describes Colson's conversion as miraculous. Hughes, who has been attending prayer meetings with Colson, told Greider: "The very fact that Chuck Colson and myself, who represent opposite ends of the political spectrum, have established this bond in Christ is, I think, the miracle of Christ itself. It has altered both our lives."

If this miracle seems less impressive than walking on water or over grandmothers, Colson has others in reserve. But unfortunately, they seem to be covered by the religious equivalent of executive privilege. "Colson," Greider reported, "underwent a personal revelation, too personal, he feels, to describe publicly. But Hughes likened Colson's experience to the conversion of Saul, the tax collector, on the road to Damascus."

Colson may have begun something of a trend among members of the White House gang. Nixon grabbed some headlines by attending church January 6 for the first time since the preceding March. It would be a real miracle to have Richard Nixon praying for his enemies instead of preying upon them. □

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Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014.

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Published in New York each Monday except last in December and first in January; not published in August.

Intercontinental Press specializes in political analysis and interpretation of events of particular interest to the labor, socialist, colonial independence, Black, and women's liberation movements.

Signed articles represent the views of the authors which may not necessarily coincide with those of Intercontinental Press. Insofar as it reflects editorial opinion, unsigned material expresses the standpoint of revolutionary Marxism.

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Subscription correspondence should be addressed to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014. Because of the continuing deterioration of the U.S. postal system, please allow five weeks for change of address. Include your old address as well as your new address, and, if possible, an address label from a recent issue.

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Haggle in Secret at Middle East 'Peace Conference'

By Jon Rothschild

There could hardly be a more appropriate site for the Middle East "peace conference" than the Palais des Nations in Geneva. The building, which now houses United Nations facilities, was the old headquarters of the League of Nations, otherwise known as the Den of Thieves. In the early 1920s the League sanctioned the division of the Arab East between French and British imperialism, disregarding the aspirations of the people of the region, who had engaged, during the recently concluded war to end all wars, in an armed revolt against Turkish domination and had been promised independence by the allied "democracies."

The purpose of the current Geneva conference is to arrive at a new stabilization of the eastern Arab world, to dam up the revolutionary struggle of the Arab workers and peasants, to create and preserve a new status quo guaranteed by U. S. imperialism and its Kremlin assistants. The general goal is shared by the Israeli ruling class and the Arab bourgeoisie. But the gap remains large between the desire to impose a "solution" and the ability to do so. The Zionist state—one of the pillars of "stability" in the Arab East—stands in basic conflict not only with the Arab masses, but with Arab governments as well. Washington and Moscow, while they continue to share their decades-old determination to pacify the region, retain conflicting interests and goals. And the major force threatening the plans of the conference participants—the masses of the Arab East—will not be part of the conference deliberations.

It is less than likely, then, that the Geneva conference will bring peace to the Arab East. But its process and results, along with the attitude taken toward it by the leaders of the Arab revolutionary movement, may well create a new situation in the region for both Arab and Israeli revolutionists.

The conference was called to order on December 21. It was officially

chaired by UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, but its real sponsors were the delegations from the United States and the Soviet Union. Other delegations attending were from Egypt, Jordan, and Israel.

The Syrian regime had announced December 18 that it would not attend, a display of verbal militancy that may well have actually been aimed at expediting the conference's work. Tel Aviv had said that it would not sit in the same room as Syrian delegates as long as the Syrian army refused to provide a list of Israeli prisoners of war held in Syrian custody. Since Damascus has refused to present such a list, Syrian attendance



GROMYKO: Wants peaceful coexistence extended to "anomalous" Arab East.

could have occasioned an Israeli walkout. The wording of Damascus's refusal to show up for the opening session left open the possibility of its entering the negotiations later.

The first day of the conference was taken up with public, and therefore largely symbolic, speeches. Waldheim

talked about his deep-felt desire for peace in the world and the importance of the UN in attaining it. Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko expressed the Kremlin's "deep satisfaction" with the opening of the conference, which, he hoped, would "lay the foundation of a just settlement" of the Middle East conflict, it having become "anomalous" in view of the "ending of the Vietnam war" and other fruits of peaceful coexistence. He called for Israeli withdrawal from the territories occupied in June 1967 and for Arab recognition of the Zionist state.

U. S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger recommended that all concerned show sufficient "wisdom" to seize the "historic opportunity for the cause of peace in the Middle East." In contrast to Gromyko, he did not call for Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories but rather for a series of stages toward a compromise agreement: observance of the cease-fire, separation of military forces, disengagement of forces, and realistic negotiations among all parties.

Egyptian Foreign Minister Ismail Fahmi and Jordanian Premier and Foreign Minister Zaid al-Rifai demanded complete Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories and recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people in exchange for Arab recognition of "secure boundaries" and "independence" for the Israeli state.

Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban, who was the final scheduled speaker, took offense at Fahmi's and Rifai's charges that the Israeli state had denied the rights of the Palestinians and had achieved territorial aggrandizement through aggression. He accused the Arabs of being the aggressors and offered "territorial compromise" and "aid" for the Palestinians as part of a permanent peace treaty. Fahmi then took the floor to briefly rebut Eban and the session was then adjourned.

Kissinger was quoted in the U. S. press as saying that he was not especially concerned over the Fahmi

Eban exchange, since what happened in the corridors at the conference was far more important than what happened under the public's prying eyes. On that score, Kissinger was certainly correct. The first day of the conference was purely ceremonial, each side stating its initial negotiating position. On the second day of the conference, which was closed to reporters, it took the delegates only twenty minutes to decide formally on taking the step that had obviously been worked out long beforehand in secret negotiations. The conference set up a "military working group" to discuss the question of "disengagement" of the Israeli and Egyptian forces along the Suez Canal front.

The MWG is composed of three Israeli and three Egyptian representatives. Its sessions—to be held in Geneva—will also be attended by Finnish Major General Ensio Siilasvuo, the commander of the United Nations Emergency Force now "supervising" the cease-fire. There are no representatives of any other delegation on the MWG, which began holding meetings on December 26.

After voting to establish the MWG, the conference recessed. It was scheduled to reconvene whenever the MWG arrives at an accord on disengagement.

The significance of the creation of the MWG was transparent. "The conferees thus decided," wrote Alvin Shuster in the December 23 *New York Times*, "to move the talks on the troops issue to Geneva from Kilometer 101 on the Cairo-Suez road." Until the "disengagement" talks produce a result, the rest of the Geneva conference has nothing to do.

Why the Military Working Group?

Shuster explained why at least two of the parties concerned favored establishment of the MWG: "The decision to discuss the canal question as the top priority is in line with Mr. Kissinger's strategy of trying to get both sides to work first for agreements that appear attainable. The Egyptians also want the appearance of continuing talks, to avoid losing what they call 'the momentum' of their effort to get Israel out of territory occupied since the June 1967 war."

But aside from fitting in well with Kissinger's renowned "realism" and Sadat's need for "momentum," the es-

tablishment of the MWG tallies exactly with the strategy adopted by the Israeli rulers when the kilometer 101 talks first began. Those talks were supposedly aimed at implementing an Israeli withdrawal to the October 22 cease-fire lines, which would have lifted the siege both of Suez City on the canal's west bank and of the Egyptian III Corps on the east bank. But



SADAT: Still needs "momentum."

instead of agreeing to withdraw to the October 22 lines, the Israeli command made counterproposals involving "mutual" Israeli and Egyptian pullbacks.

The Israeli leaders counted on the fact that Sadat was in no position to barter away the military gains the Egyptian army had made at such great cost during the October War. When the Egyptian negotiators rejected the Israeli proposal and reiterated their demand that the Israelis return to the October 22 lines, the Israelis refused to negotiate further and the Egyptians were forced to cancel the kilometer 101 talks.

The first item of business at Geneva thus became "disengaging" the opposing armies on the Suez front. With the kilometer 101 talks moved from a desert tent to the rather more dignified setting of the Palais des Nations,

the Israeli rulers could repeat their proposals for an "interim" settlement with much greater chance for success.

Tel Aviv's 'Interim' Settlement

The sessions of the MWG have been held in complete secrecy. But there have been enough leaks to the press to form a general picture of the substance of the proposals under discussion. "Although the details have not been agreed upon," Terence Smith wrote in the December 31 *New York Times*, "the disengagement envisioned in the talks would involve a significant withdrawal of forces from their lines, the establishment of a United Nations buffer zone between them, the reopening of the Suez Canal, and reconstruction of the shattered Egyptian cities on its western bank."

In that general scenario, three essential points remain under dispute.

First, the size of the Egyptian forces that will remain on the east bank. There are presently about 30,000 to 40,000 Egyptian soldiers there (three divisions) as well as some 400 tanks. Tel Aviv has reportedly demanded that most of these troops be withdrawn to the west bank, leaving only lightly armed security forces.

Second, the extent of the Israeli withdrawal into eastern Sinai and the distance that will separate the two armies. Cairo has demanded that the Israeli army be pulled back to eastern Sinai and that the Egyptian forces now on the east bank advance deep into the peninsula, at least as far as the strategic Mitla and Gidi passes some sixteen to twenty miles east of the canal. Tel Aviv has insisted that it will withdraw only as far as the passes and that the Egyptian forces remaining on the east bank must not be permitted to advance.

Third, the kind of military force that will serve as a buffer between the Egyptian and Israeli armies. It appears most likely that the buffer force will be an expanded version of the UN Emergency Force now stationed on the western bank of the canal. Tel Aviv has reportedly demanded that the buffer troops be independent of the Egyptian government in the sense that even though they would be stationed on Egyptian territory, Cairo would not be allowed unilaterally to order their withdrawal.

Finally, Tel Aviv has demanded that its ships be permitted use of the

Suez Canal when it is reopened and that Egyptian cities on the west bank, destroyed by Israeli bombing and shelling, be rebuilt.

The advantages of this package for the Zionist regime are obvious. First, it would leave Israeli forces in possession of large sections of the Sinai peninsula, conceivably as much as 80 or 90 percent of it. Second, by separating the opposing armies and interposing a United Nations force, it would effectively remove military action as an option for any Egyptian government. Third, by removing the immediate threat of a resumption of the fighting, it would allow Tel Aviv to demobilize a large number of its soldiers, thus easing some of the burden the October War has placed on the Israeli economy.

It would, in effect, create a new, militarily stable situation in the Sinai peninsula, one that would involve not the slightest strategic concession from the Zionist state. With the military situation defused, Tel Aviv could afford to enter a drawn-out negotiation process with Cairo to discuss the possibility of further Israeli withdrawals. In the meantime, continued massive military aid from Washington would bolster the power of the Israeli war machine in preparation for the next war, an inevitability so long as the Israeli occupation goes on.

The reopening of the canal and the reconstruction of the Egyptian cities obliterated by the Israeli armed forces would be additional elements establishing the Israeli occupation of Sinai as "normal." The Kremlin, which as long as the canal is closed can move ships from its naval concentration in the Mediterranean to its concentration in the Indian Ocean only by circumnavigating Africa, has an important interest in reopening the canal and keeping it functioning. Western oil companies would likewise draw benefit from a reopened canal. If the canal is made functional again, both Washington and Moscow would be much more energetic in guaranteeing the "interim" settlement.

The Prospects

How quickly the military working group will arrive at an agreement remains unclear. Its first meeting, a ninety-minute session, was held on December 26. There was no report of the substance of its discussions. It met

again for two hours and ten minutes on December 28. Siilasvuo told reporters that "consensus was reached on some principles of disengagement." He said that "further clarification" of these principles had been sought by both sides and that a "frank exchange of views on other principles" had taken place.

After the January 2 meeting of the MWG, a statement was issued saying that "an important stage has been reached in the discussions, with both sides continuing the exchange of views."

The "important stage" statement triggered a flurry of speculation that an accord was imminent. But the speculation turned out to be premature. On January 4, after the fourth session of the MWG, a statement was issued explaining only that "the parties examined technical models of disengagement," an apparent retreat from the "important stage."

The delay appeared traceable to three factors. Primarily, the Israeli regime needed further assurances from Washington that its basic negotiating position and its interpretation of whatever agreement the MWG produces will be backed up by Nixon or his successor. Additionally, Egyptian Foreign Minister Ismail Fahmi was scheduled to visit Moscow January 15 and the ruling Israeli Labor party was having some difficulty forming a new government after the December 31 elections.

The question of U.S. support for Tel Aviv was apparently settled during Moshe Dayan's January 4-6 visit to Washington. Dayan held meetings

with Kissinger and with Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger. The January 7 *New York Times* reported that "Israeli officials indicated that Israel and the United States had reached substantial if not total agreement on a draft proposal for the separation of Israeli and Egyptian forces along the Suez Canal."

If the military working group does come up with a "disengagement" plan, it can be expected that the Geneva conference will then bog down into tortuous wrangling about the disposition of troops in Sinai, the fate of the occupied West Bank of the Jordan River, and other questions. If the rulers of the Zionist state can maintain their occupation of most of Sinai and at the same time defuse the military situation on the Egyptian front, they can afford to settle in for months and years of maneuvering on the other disputed questions.

But the Zionist regime's plans may not run so smoothly. The popular mobilization engendered by the October War will make it difficult for Sadat to allow the Israeli occupation to restabilize. He will be under increasing pressure to overturn whatever deal is arrived at by the military working group. And on the other fronts, the situation is even less susceptible to negotiated solution. The Israeli regime will be far less amenable to making even token concessions on the Golan Heights and the West Bank than on Sinai. In those areas the most likely prospect is stalemate. The opportunity for "peace" represented by the Geneva conference will therefore not be historic. □

Interview With Israeli Trotskyist

Israel After the October War

[The following interview with Michel Warshawsky, one of the central leaders of the Israeli Socialist Organization (Matzpen-Marxist), the Israeli organization in solidarity with the Fourth International, was held in Jerusalem on December 12. It was published in the December 21 issue of *Rouge*, the French Trotskyist weekly. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Question. What is the situation in Israel one month after the fourth Arab-Israeli war?

Answer. I'll divide the answer into two parts. First of all, there is a deep sense of shock among the whole population. They don't feel "secure" any more. Politically, this is expressed by a certain polarization. In the elections, this polarization will be illustrated by a gain for the right on the one hand

and by a gain for the doves within the Labor party on the other hand.

I don't think the Labor party will lose control of the government, but it will lose many votes. The position of the Golda-Dayan hawks within the Labor party has weakened. The Galilee document adopted before the war as an election platform has been abandoned. [It had called for vast expansion of Jewish settlements in the territories occupied in June 1967 — IP] A new document, less clear in its perspectives, was adopted. The Labor party's game is to cast itself as the peace party as against the right. But one thing is clear: The present majority has no plan; it's taking things on a come-what-may basis.

The second important point concerns the economic problems posed by the war. Because of the mobilization the economy is slowing down again today. We are on the eve of a very important crisis, despite the American aid just voted by the Senate. There's going to be a frontal attack on the standard of living of the working class. It seems likely that—contrary to 1967—there will not be a social truce, but some kind of confrontation.

It is difficult to predict its intensity. But there's no doubt that there will

not be any national unity. At the same time, there is a feeling of uncertainty about the future, a sort of "unconscious panic" taking hold. People are talking about a 50 percent drop in the standard of living!

Q. What about the negotiations?

A. Israel is preparing to drag things out. It has no clear plan. It will go to Geneva to check things out and see what's going on. A very passive policy. There is no doubt that the United States will put pressure on Israel to make something come out of the Geneva negotiations. But I don't think this will happen quickly. There will not be two months of negotiations and then a peace agreement with restitution of the occupied territories.

Q. What is happening today with the Palestinians in the occupied territories?

A. There has been a relatively important renewed outbreak of activities by the Resistance. We should note above all that some people forming an alternative leadership to the rotten old notables have just been expelled by the occupation authorities. It is

obvious that this was a move by the Israeli government to prevent the emergence of a leftist leadership sweeping aside the present leadership.

Nevertheless, we should not exaggerate the possibilities of the development of a resistance in the occupied territories, because of the Israeli repression.

Q. What's the outlook for Matzpen-Marxist?

A. There is an enormous amount to do. The population has political questions about the dependent relationship to the United States, the permanent warfare, security, Israel's policy of force. We are getting a response that we have never gotten before. Taking account of our sympathizer circles, our influence has never been so great. Our comrades who are still in the army also report that there is a very strong and pressing process of political questioning going on.

We have to respond to this on a fundamentally anti-Zionist basis, by demystifying this society, by showing its repressive role, and by continuing the struggle to undermine Israel from within, along with all the revolutionists of the Arab East. □

Racists Object to Leaflet With 'Israeli' Signature

Arab Trotskyists Assaulted at Beirut Demonstration

[The following account of incidents occurring recently in Lebanon appeared in the December 28 issue of *Rouge*, French Trotskyist weekly. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

In its December 14 issue *Rouge* published a statement on the Yom Kippur war issued jointly by the comrades of the Lebanese Revolutionary Communist Group and the Israeli Socialist Organization (Matzpen-Marxist). [The text of the statement appears on page 31 of this issue of *Intercontinental Press*.] These two groups are members of the Fourth International.

This joint declaration was distributed in Arabic in Lebanon during a 15,000-strong demonstration in Bei-

rut protesting the Middle East tour of American Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who had just put into operation his plan for liquidating the Palestinian resistance under the cover of an Arab-Israeli peace plan.

Extremely serious events took place at the demonstration after this joint declaration of Matzpen-Marxist and the RCG was distributed.

At the end of the demonstration, several minutes after our comrades had begun handing out the declaration, some participants jumped on our comrades to attack them. There was an immediate reaction to this, not only among our own comrades, but also among militants of other Palestinian and Arab organizations who came to their assistance.

Militants of various revolutionary and Palestinian leftist organizations

drew out their automatic weapons and began firing in the air, thus surprising the assailants, who stopped for a moment before responding by also firing in the air. The confusion added to the panic and scuffling.

One comrade was seriously injured by being kicked; one demonstrator was hit in the face by a shot. Six comrades were arrested, but were released almost immediately thanks to the very vigorous intervention of leftist Palestinian militants opposed to the peaceful solution now being prepared by the Arab bourgeoisies with the tacit agreement of the right wing of the Palestinian resistance.

The initiative in these confrontations was taken by some members of Fateh, or more exactly, of Rasd, Fateh's intelligence and internal police division, and by members of the Democratic

Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DPFLP), which has been sliding ever further to the right since September 1970, after having earlier played an eminently positive role in radicalizing in a revolutionary direction the Palestinian left.

The motivation for this ominous act is quite clear. The leaders of Fateh (that is, the leaders of the Palestine Liberation Organization, which was recognized at the Algiers summit meeting of Arab governments as the sole voice of the Palestinians) are increasingly revealing their acceptance of the "peaceful solution" and especially the idea of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and in Gaza. Such a state is one variant among other equally possible plans for liquidating the Palestinian cause as a revolutionary one. The political vanguard of this rear-guard battle is none other than the very sad DPFLP, which has literally passed from the far left of the Palestinian movement to the far right.

The DPFLP has even gone so far as to initiate the most brutal action against the opponents of the "peaceful solution." What a turnabout! Those whom the DPFLP is fighting are mainly tendencies in the left wing of Fateh. These left tendencies find themselves in a very critical situation, for they are unable to capitalize on the incontestable support they enjoy from broad masses, and because of this they must on the one hand fight the DPFLP bare-handed and on the other hand struggle against the Fateh leadership and its repressive apparatus, of which Rasd is the central instrument.

The political clarification that is now going on is quite positive, but it entails a heightened risk for leftist currents that oppose the so-called peaceful solution and call it what it is: liquidation of the Palestinian cause. Groups are arising out of Fateh, the DPFLP, and the Arab Liberation Front (the pro-Iraqi-government group) that are after the hides of the oppositionists in order to prevent the crystallization of an opposition that is prepared to denounce their policy of capitulation.

The leaflet that we are reproducing below was distributed by our comrades in the wake of the Beirut incidents. (It is superfluous to add that we are in total agreement with our comrades of the RCG both in their actions and in their positions.) The leaflet explains what happened and



ARAFAT: Sends goons against Trotskyists.

once again reiterates the correct positions that must be supported by all partisans of the Palestinian cause and the Arab revolution.

* * *

Leaflet Distributed After Beirut Clashes

Regrettable incidents took place yesterday [December 16] at the end of the demonstration against the tour of Kissinger, American imperialism's errand boy for capitulation affairs. Some elements opposed our comrades distributing a joint declaration signed by our organization, the Revolutionary Communist Group, and the Israeli Socialist Organization (Matzpen-Marxist). These people claimed that the leaflet was "Israeli" and used this as a pretext to incite attacks on our comrades. A certain number of militants from various organizations came to the assistance of our comrades and some clashes ensued. We feel it appropriate to make the following points:

1. It is most extremely regrettable that certain groups get excited and fly into a rage just because they see a leaflet bearing an "Israeli" signature. It is extremely regrettable that these groups resort to slogans that are racist in both form and content in order to whip people up against our comrades. Are there still groups today that are ignorant of the existence of revolutionary anti-Zionists within the Israeli state itself? Do they think that

anyone who resides inside the borders of the Zionist state, whether Jew or Arab (and by the way, comrades of Matzpen-Marxist include both nationalities) is automatically a Zionist? Are they still wedded to the racist idea that "all Jews are Zionists," an idea that even Fateh itself went beyond several years ago?

Let them read our declaration before getting so excited. It very clearly stresses its support to "the struggle of the Arab peoples against the Zionist state, a colonial phenomenon, the No. 1 bastion of imperialism in the Arab East." And it unambiguously defends "the national cause of the Palestinian Arab people, that is, its right to return to the territory from which it was expelled and to live free of any form of national oppression, which necessarily implies destruction of the Zionist state." *We affirm that the attitude of our comrades of Matzpen-Marxist corresponds a thousand times more to the interests of the Arab revolution than that of the champions of racist excitation.* And we ask ourselves what these people can mean by a "democratic" Palestinian state when they are incapable of respecting the freedom of expression of revolutionary anti-Zionists, whether Arabs or Jews.

What's more, we observe with real astonishment that the "most ardent nationalists" who incite people against our comrades are the very ones who are ready to accept solutions that liquidate the Palestinian Arab cause.

These positions are shameful!

2. Apart from what some people may have erroneously believed about our declaration (and the responsibility for their myopia lies with the leaders in charge of their education), we want to point out that certain groups used the distribution of our leaflet as a pretext to disrupt the demonstration, and their action seems to have been premeditated. We cannot but make a connection between what happened during yesterday's demonstration and the provocations committed, during the conference held at the Arab University of Beirut, against the representative of a tendency that rejects the liquidationist solutions. Certain circles want to impose their opinions by force of arms, arms that in this case are only an extension of the arms of the capitulationist Arab regimes.

We protest in the staunchest way these brutal acts against the most

elementary democratic principles and against the attempts of certain groups to follow our comrades and arrest them.

These repressive acts will not scare us off. We affirm our resolve to continue pressing our line and to put it forward before the broadest masses. In doing this, we will be no less courageous than our comrades who dare to raise their voices in solidarity with the Arab peoples in the very heart of the Zionist state and against its repressive apparatus. The voice of revolutionary Marxists penetrates all repression.

We extend on this occasion our thanks to all the patriotic Palestinian

and Lebanese groups who intervened to defend our comrades, and we invite them to raise their voices in protest against this incident and against all attacks on democratic rights within the national liberation movement.

Let us oppose the repressive acts of the champions of racism and capitulation!

Let us oppose the plans to liquidate the Palestinian cause and the Arab revolution!

For a common revolutionary struggle of Arab and Jewish workers against imperialism, Zionism, and the Arab bourgeoisies!

Revolutionary Communist Group
December 17, 1973

until the mid-1960s, Khrushchev revealed a few of the crimes carried out under Stalin, in an attempt to divert the blame from himself and his colleagues. But Solzhenitsyn clearly indicates that the Khrushchev "revelations" signaled no fundamental change.

In a significant passage, he describes a meeting with his former judges: "It was all like a dream. In February, 1963, politely accompanied by a colonel who was also a Communist party organizer, I entered the room with the round colonnade in which, they say, the plenary sessions of the Supreme Court of the U. S. S. R. meet, with an enormous horseshoe-like table, and inside it another round table and seven antique chairs. Seventy officials of the Military Collegium heard me out. I said to them: 'What a remarkable day this is! Although I was sentenced first to camp, then to external exile, I never saw face to face a single judge. And now I see all of you assembled here together.' (And they, for the first time, saw a living zek with eyes which they had rubbed open.)

"But it turned out that it had not been they! Yes. Now they said it was not they. They assured me that *those* were no longer here. Some had retired on honorable pensions. A few had been removed. (Ulrikh, the most outstanding executioner of all, had been removed, it turned out, back in Stalin's time, in 1950 for, believe it or not, leniency.)

"Some of them—there were a few of these—had even been tried under Khrushchev, and *these* had threatened from the bench: 'Today you are trying us and tomorrow we will try you, watch out!' But like all the beginnings of Khrushchev this movement too, which had been at first very energetic, was soon forgotten by him and dropped and never got so far as to become an irreversible change, which means that things were left where they had been before."

Thus, the implications are clear: The illegal detention of oppositionists, the show trials, the censorship of political thought, and the forced exiles, which Solzhenitsyn documents for the Stalin years, still continue. The narrow-minded bureaucrats who fear all criticism, the functionaries and informers who are ever alert to the presence of "hooligans" and "anti-Soviet elements," and the police agents with their modern

Solzhenitsyn's Latest Book

'The Gulag Archipelago'

By Ernest Harsch

The publication of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's *The Gulag Archipelago, 1918-1956* is being handled in a sensationalistic way by the Western press. As yet only small portions have been made available in English translation; yet it is clear that the 600-page book is of first-rate importance in the struggle for proletarian democracy in the Soviet Union whatever political inadequacies or errors it may contain.

In his introduction, Solzhenitsyn describes the vastness of the Stalinist police apparatus, an apparatus that touched virtually every aspect of Soviet life: "The Kolyma was the greatest and most famous island, the ferocious extremity of that surprising country of Gulag [Main Administration of Corrective-Labor Camps], which though in terms of geography scattered out as an archipelago, was in terms of psychology fused into a continent—an almost invisible, almost imperceptible country inhabited by the zek people [prisoners].

"This archipelago cut across and speckled the country within which it was located like a checkerboard. It carved out enclaves in cities, hovered over streets—and yet there were many who did not even guess at its presence and only those who had been there knew the whole truth."

While the crimes of Stalin—the tortures, the imprisonments, the dispersal of entire nationalities, the executions, the falsifications of history—have long been public knowledge, it is a rare occurrence that someone of Solzhenitsyn's stature, and one who has had first-hand experience in the prisons and camps, has attempted to lay bare the scope of the bureaucracy's political terror. The only other recent work of a similar character was Roy Medvedev's *Let History Judge*.

Though Solzhenitsyn's account does contain some new information, its importance does not lie in that area, but in the fact that it is a product of the democratic opposition movement, that it claims the right to reexamine Soviet history in defiance of all the official historians and of the present bureaucrats, many of whom took part in the purges themselves.

The anecdotes, experiences, and personal stories that Solzhenitsyn recorded from his conversations with 227 other prisoners during the years of his own imprisonment, which constitute the main body of his work, end with 1956, the year of the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist party. At that congress, which officially initiated the brief "thaw" that lasted

techniques of "interrogation" still hold positions of power. Solzhenitsyn's efforts to spotlight the terror of the Stalin years also catches the entire bureaucracy in *Gulag's* reflected glare.

In August 1973, after he had received threats against his life, Solzhenitsyn remarked on what would happen if he were suddenly to die or disappear: "Immediately after my death or immediately after I have disappeared or have been deprived of my liberty, my literary last will and testament will irrevocably come into force. . . . The main part of my works will start being published — works I have refrained from publishing all those years." All indications are that he was referring, in part, to *The Gulag Archipelago* and that he had kept it secret to protect those figures named in the manuscript who were still alive.

But the Soviet secret police, the KGB, forced him to change his plans. In August, a friend of Solzhenitsyn's, Yelizaveta Voronyanskaya, was arrested. After 120 hours of continuous "interrogation" without sleep, she told the police agents where a copy of *The Gulag Archipelago* that Solzhenitsyn had given her for safekeeping was being kept. Upon being released, Voronyanskaya went home and committed suicide. With a partial copy of the manuscript in the hands of the KGB, Solzhenitsyn's main reason for not publishing it — protection of those involved in its compilation — no longer applied.

The rapid escalation of attacks against the Soviet dissidents — highlighted by the show trials of Pyotr Yakir and Viktor Krasin, the "recantation" of Ivan Dzyuba, and the official press campaign against Solzhenitsyn and Andrei Sakharov — also probably prompted him to launch his most powerful counterattack. In an analysis of why Solzhenitsyn chose this moment to publish the book, Harrison Salisbury reported in the December 29 *New York Times*: "If there is to be a confrontation with Soviet authorities, [his friends] suggested, Mr. Solzhenitsyn was determined to choose his own battleground and timing, based on his own analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of the Soviet Government's internal and foreign position."

But whatever the immediate motivation for the publication of the book

at this time, it will be a blow against the Soviet bureaucrats that will reverberate for a long time. A Russian-language edition of the book was published in Paris on December 28, 1973. In a couple of months, editions in English, French, German, and Swedish are scheduled to appear.

Although the immediate impact of *The Gulag Archipelago* will be on an international level and will help to strengthen the worldwide solidarity with the struggles of the Soviet oppositionists, Solzhenitsyn stated that the audience he had in mind while writing the book was the Russian people. His main purpose was to restore to them a chapter of Soviet history that has for years been only whispered about.

While the excerpts published in the *New York Times* — 10,000 of the original 260,000 words — are sketchy and perhaps give a distorted impression of the material as a whole, they nevertheless give a glimpse of the scope and power of Solzhenitsyn's "most important work."

In the excerpts, he briefly describes the mass displacements of the "dispossessed kulaks" from 1929-30 — the period of Stalin's forced collectivization — which was to have disastrous consequences for the Soviet economy.

After the Kirov assassination in 1934, which evidence indicates was actually carried out by Stalin's henchmen, the first mass purge swept through the ranks of the Communist party and the working class of Leningrad. Solzhenitsyn estimates that fully *one quarter* of the population of Leningrad was hit by the purge from 1934 to 1935.

He also touches on the infamous show trials of the late 1930s, in which the orchestrated testimonies of Kamenov, Zinoviev, Bukharin, and other Bolshevik leaders were used to prove the existence of a "Trotskyite" plot against the Soviet state. Throughout the course of those trials, Leon Trotsky, who had been exiled a decade before, exposed to the whole world the frame-up nature of the purge trials.

Solzhenitsyn provides ample evidence about the means used to force confessions from the Old Bolsheviks: "At the December [1937] Plenum of the Central Committee [of the Communist party] they brought in Pyatakov with teeth knocked out and not a bit like himself. Behind his back

stood mute Chekists (Yagoda men, and Yagoda, after all, was being tested and prepared for a role, too).

"Pyatakov delivered the most repulsive sort of evidence against Bukharin and Rykov. Ordzhonikidze put his hand up to his ears (he was hard of hearing): 'Say here, are you giving all this testimony *voluntarily*?' (Note that down! Ordzhonikidze will get a bullet of his own!) 'Absolutely voluntarily,' and Pyatakov swayed on his feet. And in the intermission Rykov said to Bukharin: 'Tomsky had will power. He understood back in August and he ended his own life. And you and I, like fools, have gone on living.'"

But those who actually were brought to "trial" were few. The vast bulk of the leadership of the Russian Revolution, the Old Bolsheviks, the party militants, were simply arrested, thrown into the cellars of the police headquarters, beaten, tortured, and shot, whether they had "confessed" or not.

"What scholar of the laws," Solzhenitsyn goes on, "what criminal historian is going to cite for us verified statistics of the 1937-38 executions? Where is that *special archive* into which we might be able to penetrate in order to read off the figures? There is none. There is none and there never will be. Therefore we dare to repeat merely those figures from rumors quite fresh at the time, in 1939-1940.

"The Yezhov men [secret police] said that during those two years of 1937 and 1938 *half a million* 'political prisoners' had been shot throughout the Soviet Union, and in addition 480,000 *blatnye*, habitual thieves. What's so fantastic about that? It is even an understatement! (According to other rumors 1.7 million people were shot by January 1, 1939.)

"How many there actually were in the archipelago one cannot know for certain. It is quite believable to think that at any one time there were not more than 12 million (as some departed beneath the sod, the 'machine' kept bringing in replacements). And not more than half of them were political.

"Six million? Well, that is the equivalent of a small country, Sweden or Greece."

Nor did the purges stop with the 1930s and the elimination of the en-

tire leadership of the Bolshevik party. After the second world war virtually every Soviet soldier who had been captured by the Germans was arrested upon his return to the Soviet Union. Solzhenitsyn noted that at that time it was a crime for a soldier in the Red Army to surrender! One result of this was that thousands of captured Soviet soldiers and officers who had been disgusted by the early catastrophic defeats that resulted from Stalin's criminal policies at the outbreak of the war (the purge of the entire leadership of the Red Army, the failure to train and prepare the men for the outbreak of the war) actually took up arms against the Soviet forces. The full responsibility for the defection of those soldiers lay with the Stalinists.

The reason given for the arrests of the returning soldiers—those who had simply been captured—was that they had been enlisted as spies for Berlin or Tokyo. "All the Chinese who lived in the Soviet Far East got spy convictions—Section 58-6. They were taken to the northern camps, where they perished. The same fate awaited the Chinese participants in the Soviet Civil War—if they had failed to clear out in good time. Several hundred thousand Koreans were exiled to Kazakhstan, all being likewise suspected spies. And the Latvian riflemen—the most reliable bayonets of the first years of the revolution—were accused of espionage when they were all to a man arrested in 1937."

Solzhenitsyn also contends that in the early 1950s Stalin had been preparing his most ambitious purge yet. This was reflected in the widespread arrests of the "cosmopolitans," or Jews. The initial groundwork for this new wave of arrests was already under way by 1953, and a show trial of Jewish doctors, who were being charged with plotting to poison the leadership of the Communist party, was being rigged. It was at that point that Stalin died. Those who had been slated for trial were then suddenly released.

Solzhenitsyn describes his personal experiences in Stalin's prison camps and how those experiences affected his thinking about Soviet society. He had been an officer during the second world war, but even though he was a dedicated Communist, he began to

have doubts about Stalinism. In correspondence with a friend he made veiled criticisms of the "Big Shot"; the discovery of these letters led to his arrest during the war.

He explained his frame of mind upon entering prison: "From my childhood on I knew out of somewhere that my life purpose was the history of the Russian Revolution and that nothing else concerned me. For the comprehension of the revolution I had long since required nothing except Marxism."

But his realization of Stalin's crimes, from his talks with the other prisoners over a number of years, drove him further and further away from Marxism. He began to equate democracy with bourgeois parliamentarism, and Stalinism with Leninism. The dates included in the very title of the book (1918-1956) show that he makes no distinction between the terror of the Civil War period directed against the remnants of the old ruling classes and the foreign imperialists, when the Bolsheviks had the overwhelming support of Russia's working class and peasantry, and the terror perpetrated by Stalin against the revolution itself.

Solzhenitsyn thus became another of those whose faith in socialism has been shattered by the traitors to the revolution, by those who proclaimed themselves Leninist while executing the true Leninists. The responsibility for Solzhenitsyn's rejection of Marxism lies completely with the Stalinists.

Though *The Gulag Archipelago* is thus tainted with Solzhenitsyn's misconceptions, it nevertheless is a powerful blow against the bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union and a confirmation of the Marxist critique of Stalinism. Any work that has the potential of revealing part of the truth about Stalinism to the Soviet people can only strengthen the movement for socialist democracy in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

And the Stalinists are fully aware of the potential danger that such opposition holds for their continued rule. On January 2 TASS released a statement condemning the book as "a blanket slander of the Soviet people," which would be used by reactionaries in a campaign of "anti-Soviet slander." This was followed with attacks by the Soviet press and nationwide television, as well as the papers of the

various Communist parties around the world.

How far the bureaucrats' response to Solzhenitsyn's move will go, and what form it will take, remain to be seen. In May 1973 the Kremlin joined the Universal Copyright Convention as a way of imposing tighter controls on the foreign publication of the works of Soviet dissidents. Just one week before the Paris publication of *The Gulag Archipelago*, Boris Pankin, head of the new All-Union Copyright Agency, told reporters that the Kremlin would bring lawsuits against Western publishers who attempted to publish Soviet works without the Kremlin's permission. Such a course, however, could entangle the bureaucrats in complicated legal maneuvers that might do nothing to stem the flow of dissident materials abroad.

On the other hand, a direct attack against Solzhenitsyn under Article 70 of the Russian Republic's Criminal Code, which forbids the writing or dissemination of "anti-Soviet slander," would also be risky for the Stalinists, since Solzhenitsyn is one of the most well-known dissidents, both internationally and within the Soviet Union. But if the Stalinists do not act quickly, other oppositionists might become emboldened by Solzhenitsyn's example and launch their own attacks.

In an interview with two French lawyers in Moscow on December 31, Solzhenitsyn said that he expected to be arrested and tried for writing and publishing the book. In the last of the *New York Times* series of excerpts from the book, the final passage quoted read: "Well, so they will try me." If that occurs, the case will become the most important one to emerge in the Soviet Union in the past few years, and it will probably elicit the broadest international campaign ever to be mounted in defense of Soviet oppositionists.

Whatever happens to Solzhenitsyn, the impact of *The Gulag Archipelago* will remain. An article in the Paris *L'Aurore* reported that the manuscript of the book reached Paris through "a network of people that know each other, travel, meet, and have in common the love of Russia." The author of the article predicted that copies of *The Gulag Archipelago* would find their way back into the Soviet Union by the same route. □

Nixon Sets New Confrontation Over Watergate Tapes

By Allen Myers

"In rejecting the Senate Watergate committee's subpoenas of the White House tapes and documents," the *New York Times* stated in a January 5 editorial, "President Nixon has once again shifted from earlier promises of maximum disclosure to his original posture of defiance. By his action, Mr. Nixon has moved at least the Senate's part of the investigation back to that earlier stage of a potential constitutional confrontation."

It was a foregone conclusion that Nixon would do everything possible to avoid complying with the Watergate committee's subpoenas. The subpoenas, issued December 19, called on him to turn over tape recordings of 492 conversations and telephone calls occurring between mid-1971 and December 1973, 100 documents relating to campaign contributions by dairy cooperatives, and documents covering 37 other categories of the Nixon gang's secret activities. For Nixon to comply with the subpoenas would have meant handing over to the committee the evidence of his crimes.

In the current "potential constitutional confrontation" with the Senate committee Nixon's position is far weaker than when he refused to hand over five subpoenaed recordings last July. Judge John Sirica ruled that the courts had no authority to enforce the earlier subpoena. But in December Congress passed a bill giving Sirica that authority, and Nixon was too weakened politically to veto the bill, which is now law.

More important, Nixon's efforts to regain some degree of public credibility with his Operation Candor promises of "full disclosure" of all Watergate matters undermines his effort to cloak the present cover-up attempt with arguments about executive privilege. As Nixon himself admitted in his January 4 letter to committee chairman Sam Ervin, "I recognize that in the current environment, there may be some attempt to distort my position as only an effort to withhold information. . . ."

Demoralization in the White House

Even before his refusal to comply with the subpoenas, it was obvious that Nixon could not and would not fulfill the promises of Operation Candor. On December 28 Gerald Warren, the White House deputy press secre-



NIXON: Refuses to hand over evidence of his guilt.

tary, confirmed press reports that Nixon's pledge to Republican members of Congress that he would release transcripts of summaries of the secret White House tape recordings was being "reevaluated." This admission came in response to requests for comment on an article by Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward that appeared in that day's issue of the *Washington Post*.

The reason for the retreat from the promises of Operation Candor is obvious. Even a limited disclosure of some of the White House tapes would prove that Nixon is guilty of crimes.

This is now being admitted in "leaks" even by high Nixon aides. The information in Bernstein and Woodward's article indicates that the "White House sources" to whom it is attributed are closer to the top than to the bottom of the White House hierarchy.

The two reporters wrote that the decision to attempt to keep the contents of the tapes secret "was reached on Wednesday [December 26] after the President and his senior advisers concluded that the contents of the tapes, if disclosed, could convince growing segments of the public that the President was involved in the conspiracy to cover up Watergate—even though the tapes might not legally incriminate him.

"According to senior presidential aides, the White House tape recordings indicate that—at a minimum—Mr. Nixon had knowledge of the Watergate cover-up at least several days before March 21, 1973, the date that the President maintains he first learned of it."

One of the sources told Bernstein and Woodward that if transcripts of the tapes were released, "most of the public and news media would read the transcripts and conclude that the President was involved in a conspiracy."

"The sources said," Bernstein and Woodward continued, "that, at a minimum, the tapes show that the President was aware that there was an organized effort to deceive the public and 'contain' Watergate because it represented a threat to Mr. Nixon's reelection in the 1972 campaign."

Even Warren, while denying that the tapes would confirm Nixon's guilt, said that the recordings contained "ambiguities" that "could lead to confusion in the minds of the American public and further distortion of the matter."

The "confusion" seems to be affecting even Nixon's aides, whatever the tapes might do to reinforce the public belief that Nixon is a crook. Bernstein and Woodward reported:

"Two presidential aides who had

consistently maintained Mr. Nixon was not involved in the conspiracy to cover up Watergate now tell The Washington Post they are no longer convinced."

The reporters' sources also predicted Nixon's defiance of the Senate committee's subpoenas:

"The most damaging material to the President's case, the sources said, is not necessarily contained in the seven tape recordings already turned over to the Watergate special prosecutor, but in the tapes of nearly 500 conversations and meetings recently subpoenaed by the Senate Watergate committee. . . .

"According to White House officials, the President and his advisers have decided to resist the Senate request at all costs and will either ignore it or try to stave off its demands by engaging in a protracted court battle."

Nixon's advisers would seem to have little confidence in the outcome: "Morale among the staff apparently is so low that senior presidential aides regularly joke with both insiders and outsiders about the deterioration of the Nixon Presidency and its possible demise."

Tax Evasion and Other 'Bombshells'

From the standpoint of the Nixon gang, the balance sheet on Operation Candor must be a very negative one. The only new information provided in the course of this propaganda offensive, the December 8 release of a statement on Nixon's finances (see *Intercontinental Press*, December 17, p. 1446), only succeeded in providing further documentation of his shady financial and tax operations. When the statement was released, Nixon requested the Joint Congressional Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation to rule on the propriety of his tax deduction for an alleged gift of his vice-presidential papers to the National Archives and his failure to pay any tax on the profit involved in the sale of part of his San Clemente estate.

Reporters and others soon pointed out that there were additional questionable dealings revealed in the statement.

● When Nixon sold his New York apartment at a profit in 1969, he avoided paying any taxes on it by reinvesting the income in a new "prin-

cipal residence" in San Clemente, California. But he has not paid California income taxes, arguing that his residence, while he is president, is Washington, D. C. On the other hand, for the purposes of avoiding Washington taxes, he claims to be a California resident.

● Nixon appears to have avoided more than \$13,000 in federal taxes since he became president by listing his \$50,000 annual expense allowance as salary, which allowed him to take larger deductions than would otherwise have been possible.

● In a joint investment with his



KISSINGER: "Critical role" in setting up plumbers unit.

daughter Tricia, Nixon claimed the bulk of the profits on his own tax forms. Because he had larger deductions, an equal division of the profits would have required the payment of a higher total tax.

Other observers pointed out that Nixon's request to the joint taxation committee in effect meant that he was selecting his own jury. The committee, whose chairman is Congressman Wilbur Mills of Arkansas, was perhaps the most sympathetic jury that could be found, as columnist Jack Anderson pointed out December 19:

"Some congressmen suspect that the President deliberately selected Mills as the committee chairman most likely to whitewash the charges."

Among the facts buttressing this suspicion is Mills's reception of an illegal

1972 campaign contribution from Gulf Oil, which also contributed illegally to Nixon's campaign.

"Mills' joint committee," Anderson also noted, "whitewashed the Internal Revenue Service by claiming it didn't hound those on the White House 'enemies list.' A painstaking American Civil Liberties Union study showed just the opposite, and a high IRS official has admitted secretly to the Senate Watergate committee that favors were granted at White House request."

The criticisms eventually forced the Internal Revenue Service to announce, on January 3, that it was conducting an audit of Nixon's tax returns. The IRS and Nixon claim that an audit of Nixon's 1970 and 1971 returns was conducted in May of last year and that everything was found in order.

Nixon's tax evasion is the least of his crimes, but that does not mean that it might not be the charge on which he will be impeached or forced to resign. On the contrary, such a procedure might appear very attractive to the U.S. ruling class as a means of halting the flood of more serious disclosures about White House operations. There are certainly plenty of other scandals that have so far been only partially or not at all disclosed.

Speaking on a national television program December 30, Howard Baker, vice-chairman of the Senate Watergate committee, referred to some of these scandals. Asked if there were any more unexploded "bombshells" in the Watergate affair, Baker responded:

"There are animals crashing around in the forest. I can hear them, but I can't see them."

"I do know of other circumstances that I think ought to be investigated and they ought to be disclosed to the country. Some of them do involve national security, but there must be a balance at some point . . . on whether the requirements of national security are greater than the requirements of domestic tranquility."

It is likely that the "national security" matter mentioned by Baker involves the activities of the White House "plumbers" unit, which among its other achievements burglarized the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist. There have been public references, but no further explanation, to other activities of the plumbers designated by the code

names "Project Odessa" and "Special Project No. M-1."

In the December 9 and 10 issues of the *New York Times*, Seymour M. Hersh provided additional information on the plumbers based on interviews with "dozens of past and present Administration officials."

"The plumbers," Hersh wrote, "contrary to White House assurances, reportedly participated in at least one as yet undisclosed operation in late 1971, shortly after publication of secret White House documents on the India-Pakistan war by the columnist Jack Anderson. That investigation, directed by John D. Ehrlichman, then Mr. Nixon's domestic adviser, and Mr. [David] Young, involved wiretapping, although it could not be learned how many taps were installed or who was tapped."

Hersh also revealed that the British spy agency M. I. 5 had cooperated with the White House gang in the investigation of Ellsberg. The Senate Watergate committee deleted this information from a memorandum it made public during its hearings.

"A number of well-informed sources," Hersh continued, "mentioned another highly classified development, involving code-breaking and other communications intelligence, that was said to have been endangered by continued inquiry [by the Watergate prosecutor] into the plumbers, but no details could be obtained."

Hersh's sources indicated that both Nixon and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, contrary to their denials, were intimately familiar with the plumbers operations and provided the spy group with fairly precise orders. Kissinger, according to Hersh, "played a far more critical role than publicly known in the White House decision to begin an extensive inquiry into the background of Dr. Ellsberg and, ultimately, to set up the plumbers operations." Kissinger has denied even knowing that the unit existed.

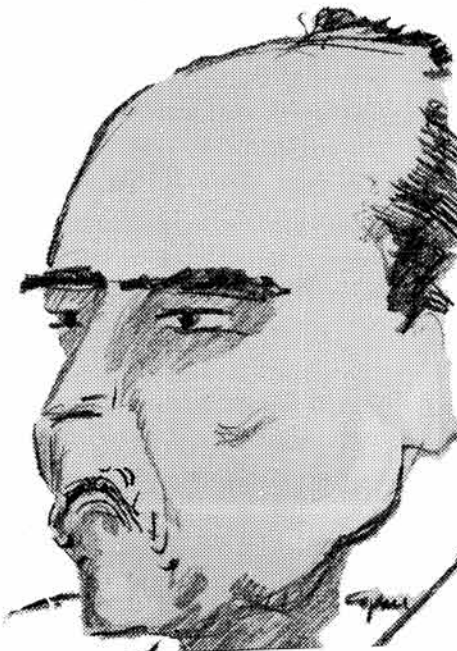
Hersh's sources told him that Nixon "developed a close working relationship with the leaders of the plumbers through a series of meetings in the White House Oval Office in the summer of 1971." At the time the unit was established, Nixon reportedly told Ehrlichman to have the plumbers read the chapter from Nixon's book *Six Crises* that deals with the "national security" frame-up of Alger Hiss—an

unsubtle hint that any methods were permissible against Ellsberg.

The Hughes Connection

The outlines of what may prove to be a very explosive bombshell have begun to be made visible in recent weeks. This involves the ties between Nixon, billionaire Howard Hughes, and the undercover operations of Howard Hunt and Gordon Liddy.

The Senate Watergate committee has been investigating two "campaign contributions" totaling \$100,000 from



EHRlichman: Instructed to recommend Nixon's favorite author.

Hughes that were accepted on Nixon's behalf in 1969 and 1970 by Nixon's friend Bebe Rebozo. Rebozo claims that he allowed the money to lie idle in a bank vault until early in 1973, when he returned it to Hughes. No one involved in the matter has yet produced a credible explanation of this transaction, or even of what campaign the money was a "contribution" to.

The Hughes generosity to Nixon goes back at least to 1956, when Hughes "loaned" \$205,000 to F. Donald Nixon, Richard Nixon's brother. The loan was never repaid. F. Donald Nixon and another brother, Edward Nixon, are known to have close business ties with a number of Hughes aides.

On December 10 Samuel Dash, the

chief counsel of the Senate Watergate committee, told reporters that the committee was considering the possibility that the break-in at the Watergate offices of the Democratic National Committee may have been intended to discover whether Lawrence O'Brien, the Democratic national chairman, had information on the Nixon-Hughes connection that might be used against Nixon in the campaign. O'Brien could have had access to such information since he was the head of a public relations firm that was on retainer from Hughes beginning in 1969.

"This is one of a number of theories we are presently operating on," Dash said. "This is a viable theory. It may not prove to be true, but it is one we are operating on at the moment."

Hughes's name popped up in the committee hearings last May 22, when Watergate burglar James McCord told of plans by Liddy and Hunt to break into the office of Hank Greenspun, a Las Vegas, Nevada, publisher who had had business dealings with Hughes.

"Liddy," McCord testified, "said that Attorney General John Mitchell has told him that Greenspun had in his possession blackmail type information involving a Democratic candidate for president, that Mitchell wanted that material. . . . My inclination at this point in time, speaking of today, is to disbelieve the allegation against the Democratic candidate referred to above and to believe that there was in reality some other motive for wanting to get into Greenspun's safe."

"Liddy told me one day in February 1972 that he was going out to Las Vegas, and might need my help if there was an alarm system in the offices, when an entry operation was mounted to enter a safe in Greenspun's offices to get the information. . . ."

"Subsequently . . . Liddy told me that he had again been to Las Vegas for another casing of Greenspun's offices. Liddy said that there were then plans for an entry operation to get into Greenspun's safe. He went on to say that, after the entry team finishes its work, they would go directly to an airport near Las Vegas where a Howard Hughes plane would be standing by to fly the team directly into a Central American country."

Greenspun, when contacted by reporters, denied that he had any information on a Democratic candidate. What he did have, he said, was doc-

umentation concerning Hughes's contacts with the Justice Department in order to overturn a ruling that prohibited him from acquiring an addition to his chain of hotels in Las Vegas.

All these seemingly loose ends began to be tied together December 27, when a federal grand jury in Las Vegas indicted Hughes and four of his present or former aides on charges of conspiracy to manipulate the stock of Air West, an airline Hughes took over in December 1968. The indictment charges that the defendants manipulated the price of Air West stock in order to make the company's directors accept Hughes's offer to purchase the airline.

The indictment lists Greenspan as a co-conspirator, but not as a defendant. The most common reason for not indicting a conspirator is his or her agreement to testify for the prosecution.

Hughes's take-over of Air West was approved in 1969 by the Civil Aeronautics Board and by Richard Nixon. Shortly thereafter, a Hughes aide delivered the first installment of the secret \$100,000 "contribution" to Rebozo.

Awaiting the Verdict

Nixon, the *New York Times* complained editorially January 3, "can scarcely concentrate on the Middle East, the energy shortage and other crises or even the routine business of Government since Watergate rises in so many different shapes to haunt him. He is not so much leading a Government as conducting a legal defense."

The Nixon defense strategy has been reduced by the continuing revelations to pushing for an early vote by the House on the question of impeachment. The idea is that an early vote would be more likely to "clear" Nixon, while delays allow the accumulation of more evidence and undermine his support from Republican members of Congress increasingly worried by the Watergate scandal's effect on their own chances for reelection in November.

"These days," conservative columnist Joseph Alsop wrote in the December 19 *Washington Post*, "when you see a huddle of unhappy-looking House or Senate Republicans, you can be pretty sure they are discussing the question 'Who will bell the cat?' The

cat is Richard M. Nixon, and belling the cat means telling the President he must resign his office for the good of his party."

After some dispute with his Republican colleagues, the Democratic chairman of the House Judiciary Commit-



BAKER, ERVIN: "Animals crashing around in the forest."

tee, Peter Rodino, agreed to set a target date of early April for the committee's recommendation to the full House. "It is expected," David E. Rosenbaum reported from Washington in the January 6 *New York Times*, "that the recommendation will be for impeachment. . . ."

"It would take a majority vote of the House to send the matter to the Senate for trial. Republican strategists, who are following the impeachment threat with one eye and the November Congressional elections with the other, believe that, in the absence of further disclosures, the vote in the House would be nip and tuck. The closer the vote comes to November, however, these politicians say, the more likely a vote for impeachment.

"The situation in the Senate, where it would take a two-thirds vote to convict the President and remove him from office, is more tenuous. Respected politicians say that there are not now enough votes for conviction but that additional evidence could alter the balance."

None of these capitalist politicians require "additional evidence" in order to know that Nixon is a crook. What

they are really awaiting is some sort of consensus in the U. S. ruling class as to whether (or how) to get rid of Nixon. Additional evidence enters the calculation only in the sense of concern that continued revelations will further undermine the authority of capitalist government in the United States.

The overwhelming majority of the U. S. public has had no trouble arriving at its verdict. A poll conducted by the Roper organization in early November, which was described by Bill Kovach in the January 6 *New York Times*, found that "79 per cent of those polled in depth believed one or more of the most serious charges against the President are justified." Kovach continued:

"While the poll shows a slim majority against impeachment, 45 per cent to 44, indications are that opposition stems not from the belief in the President's innocence but from fear of the destructive effect an impeachment proceeding would have.

"Only 11 per cent of those opposed to impeachment said they took that position because they believed the charges unjustified." □

Magazine Suggests Answer to Fuel Shortage, Watergate

The January issue of the liberal monthly *Progressive* reports that among the groups demanding Nixon's impeachment is the National Coalition of American Nuns, which issued a statement charging that his Watergate actions "have strip-mined the remaining reserves of a once powerful mandate from the people."

The nuns' use of the fuel metaphor seems natural in the midst of the present energy crisis. The *Progressive* went on to suggest a plan that might contribute to solving both fuel problems and the Watergate mess:

"The President is setting an example by reducing the cruising speed of *Air Force One* (or, as he prefers, *The Spirit of '76*) so that it now consumes a mere 2,000 gallons of jet fuel per flight-hour, instead of the former 2,200 gallons. At that rate, his sixteen separate sorties in 1973 to Key Biscayne and San Clemente have exhausted more than 300,000 gallons of fuel—enough, according to the Senate Commerce Committee, to heat about 500 homes for one year. We certainly don't begrudge Mr. Nixon his trips to Florida or California; it's the coming back that bothers us, and that might provide an opportunity to save some precious oil."

Savage Sentences Given Carabanchel 10

By Candida Barberena

On December 22 the trial of the Carabanchel 10, named after the Spanish prison where they are confined, closed on much the same note it had begun three days earlier. Sentences ranging from twelve to twenty years in prison were handed down on December 29, despite the prosecution's inability to provide any evidence of guilt.

Nine union leaders and one former Jesuit priest, who is held in the Zamora "ecclesiastical" prison for "ordinary" prisoners, were accused of "illegal association" as a result of their membership in the outlawed Workers Commissions. They were also charged with belonging to the national coordinating committee of the commissions. They were arrested on June 24, 1972, when police raided a Catholic church in the suburbs of Madrid.

The Workers Commissions are clandestine trade unions created eight years ago as an alternative to the official trade unions, which are headed by a minister of the Spanish cabinet and controlled by the regime. The commissions have extended their organizing efforts to factories, building trades, organizations of housewives, and the liberal vocations; their actual membership is of course difficult to estimate, owing to their illegal existence.

The trial was set in the Palace of Justice in a narrow, stifling, windowless room whose capacity does not exceed 200. To get a seat, reported the December 22 *Le Monde*, "... in the early hours of Thursday [December 20] an endless line could be seen at the entrance of the Palace of Justice—more than a thousand persons who hoped to attend the trial."

In the December 25 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, correspondent José Antonio Novais gave a vivid description of the first session:

"The silent, attentive spectators of this play, whose conclusion everyone already knew, sustained the impression of attending an absurd trial behind closed doors. However, the actors—magistrate, prosecutor, lawyers, and defendants—acted as if



FRANCO: Courts hand down vicious sentences.

something could possibly happen. They were situated on a platform that slightly dominated the courtroom, doubtlessly to give a majestic impression; but this detail emphasized more the unreal and static character of the production."

One of the defendants, Marcelino Camacho, who is one of the best-known organizers in the workers movement and who has spent all but a few weeks of the last six years in prison for his trade-union activities, said in an opening statement to the court: "After having spent five years in prison, I was temporarily freed for only three months. I didn't even have time to contact my comrades to see if they considered me to be their representa-

tive or not."

Marcel Niedergang, writing in the December 25 *Le Monde*, gave this view of the regime's case against the Carabanchel 10: "All the lawyers reasoned that their clients had in reality been judged on the basis of their pasts, on presumptions, and on their alleged intentions." The defense lawyers feel, Niedergang continued, "that the regime hopes that at whatever cost Camacho and his comrades, who are too popular among the workers, will in any case be unable to play their natural role as leaders."

In addition, Niedergang had this view of the trial's timing:

"By setting this trial for December 20, the government, it seems, planned to act with both discretion and in an exemplary way." However, on the day the trial opened, Franco's designated political heir, Carrero Blanco, was assassinated, allegedly by Basque nationalists. "The December 20 attack against Admiral Carrero Blanco upset its [the government's] plans. It also disturbed the plans of workers leaders who intended to organize demonstrations. In the end, no action was called for in the factories of the capital."

"Not only was the trial overshadowed by the political crisis," commented Niedergang in the January 1 *Le Monde*, "but the hope for a reduction of the very heavy sentences being asked by the prosecutor had waned."

"The attack against Admiral Carrero Blanco gave the signal for new arrests of leftist militants and priests who are known for their progressive ideas. On December 30 the Supreme Court confirmed a penalty of thirteen years in prison for 'illegal propaganda,' imposed on Martin Nieto, who was found in possession of two copies of the *Tribune Libertaire*."

The widespread attention the case of the Carabanchel 10 has attracted was clearly indicated by the broad spectrum of observers sent to the trial by leading European trade-union and legal organizations. Among these were the FMS (Fédération Mondiale des Syndicats—World Federation of Trade Unions), the CMT (Confédération Mondiale des Travailleurs—World Confederation of Workers), and the CIOISL (Centrale Internationale Ouvrière des Syndicats Libres—International Workers Central of Free Trade Unions). Former U.S. attorney general Ramsey Clark was present, as well as M. Nordmann, secretary-

general of the International Federation of Democratic Jurists.

Nordmann told the December 21 *Le Monde* that what was taking place was "a trial against trade-union freedoms and the freedom to assemble. The only thing held against the defendants is their trade-union background. Apart from that, no specific accusation has been made. The court's brief was drafted solely on the basis of statements by the police. This trial will serve as a test. The penalties imposed will actually show Europeans whether or not Spain really wants to join the European Economic Community, where such a trial is unimaginable."

International attention on the case of the Carabanchel 10 was further highlighted by the demonstrations of protest that occurred in different European cities. On the eve of the trial a thousand persons gathered in front of the Ministry of Justice in Madrid in an unsuccessful attempt to deliver a letter of solidarity with the Carabanchel 10. The same day, 200 to 300 persons demonstrated in the Basque city of Bilbao until they were dispersed by the police. Dutch youth also demonstrated against the political trials on December 19. In Rotterdam, about forty young people protested in front of the Spanish consulate.

In addition to the demonstrations, leading French trade unions adopted

a firm stand, calling on the French government to appeal to Madrid on behalf of the Carabanchel 10. The unions that signed the appeal were the CGT (Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor), the CFDT (Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor), and the FEN (Fédération de l'Education Nationale—National Federation of Education).

The prison terms handed the Carabanchel 10 on December 29 were: Marcelino Camacho, 20 years and one day; Eduardo Saborido, 20 years and one day; Nicolas Sartorius, lawyer, 19 years; Father Francisco Garcia Salve, 19 years; Fernando Soto Martín, 17 years and 4 months; Juan Marcos Muñoz Zapico, 18 years; Francisco Acosta Orge, Miguel Angel Zamora Anton, Pedro Santiesteban, and Luis Fernandez Costilla, 12 years and one day.

The twenty-year prison term against Camacho will be particularly hard for the prematurely aging labor activist to endure, as he suffers from a serious cardiovascular disease, for which he had to be hospitalized several times while in prison. Despite the duress, Camacho has been an inspiration to his imprisoned comrades: "I know that I am paying the price for freedom in the future." □

Zealand Meatworkers Union; a number of city councillors and university lecturers; and Labour party and trade-union officials.

In early October, NZLA circulated several pages of information on Chile, including eyewitness reports and excerpts from the world's leading newspapers. This was accompanied by an appeal to finance an advertisement in *The Listener*, the nationwide radio and TV magazine, protesting the actions of the junta in Chile and demanding that New Zealand's doors be opened to Chilean refugees. The advertisement appeared on December 15. It bore the signatures of leading trade unionists and a range of other prominent figures.

Local groups supporting NZLA throughout the country were also active. Pickets denounced General German Stuardo, now head of Chile's national airline, when he was in Auckland for an International Air Transport Association conference on November 13. Three days later pickets demonstrated in Auckland and Wellington. On November 22 two of NZLA's supporters appeared on a popular radio talk-back show in Christchurch to explain their opposition to what was happening in Chile.

The most direct indication of the pressure on the government to take action came when the associate minister of foreign affairs, Joe Walding, announced that New Zealand would be taking a limited number ("up to 20 families") of refugees from Chile. This statement came a few days after an NZLA delegation, which included the secretary of the Wellington Trades Council, had visited the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Among other things, the NZLA demanded that the government offer political asylum to refugees from Chile and that it request information on the whereabouts of, and guarantees for the safety of, a list of persons for whom special efforts are being made internationally. The list included leaders of the Chilean Socialist and Communist parties as well as some exiles from other Latin American countries who were living in Chile.

NZLA plans to continue circulating information on what is really happening in Chile and demanding that the New Zealand government do as much as possible in defence of the junta's victims. □

New Zealand

Campaign for Victims of Repression in Chile

By Brigid Mulrennan

Wellington

Within days after the military coup in Chile on September 11, protests were mounted by a variety of groups here. Since then, as the truth about the extent of the repression became known, demonstrations, pickets, and many letters to newspapers have registered public outrage in New Zealand. In clear response to this sentiment, the government condemned the coup and announced that some refugees from Chile will be allowed into the country.

Throughout this period, the New Zealand Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners

(NZLA) has been active. Straight after the coup, NZLA issued a press release calling on the government to denounce the repression and to demand the restoration of full political and civil rights in Chile.

NZLA has received wide sponsorship since it was formed early in 1973. After a campaign in defence of Argentinian political prisoners, new supporters endorsed the committee. These included the mayor of Christchurch, Neville Pickering; the Rev. David Taylor, general secretary of the National Council of Churches; the New Zealand University Students Association; Frank McNulty, secretary of the New

Subject of U.S.-Portuguese Talks Is Arms, Oil

By Tony Hodges

London

Washington is taking new initiatives to strengthen its backing for the Portuguese government's ailing war effort in Africa. On December 18 U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger arrived in Lisbon for talks with Portuguese dictator Marcello Caetano and his foreign secretary, Rui Patricio. A communiqué issued after the discussions by the U.S. Embassy in Lisbon indicated that the talks had been "markedly friendly" and that "large areas of agreement" had been reached.

One objective of the talks was to arrange U.S. support against the total embargo on oil supplies to Portugal, which was imposed by the Arab summit meeting in Algiers in November. Other items under discussion were the Nixon administration's commitment to keeping Guinea-Bissau out of the United Nations, the renegotiation of the 1971 treaty under which Washington has use of the Lajes air base in the Azores, and new U.S. arms deliveries to the Portuguese military.

Under a 1971 treaty, Washington received use of the Lajes air base in return for a loan to Lisbon of \$400 million from the U.S. Export-Import Bank, and a further \$36 million and a survey vessel from the U.S. government. According to the November 15, 1973, London *Guardian*, "the Pentagon also took over from Portugal the costs of the US Military Advisory and Assistance Group (MAAG) in Lisbon."

The 1971 treaty provided Portugal with valuable economic assistance at a time when its economy was feeling the effects of the war. With approximately 170,000 troops in Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau, the Portuguese government has been spending nearly half of its budget on the military.

The 1971 agreement proved equally useful for Washington during the October War in the Arab East, when the Lajes base was used as a refueling stop for the airlift of military supplies to Israel. The November 28 Lon-

don *Financial Times* reported that "in Lisbon's view the past few weeks have demonstrated very clearly that the Azores base is of critical strategic importance to the US, and must at all costs be maintained. It is probably here that the biggest pay-off is going to be seen—in negotiations over the next few months about the renewal of the base agreement which expires in February."

Part of the payoff is the U.S. commitment to keeping the Republic of Guinea-Bissau out of the United Nations. U.S. delegates have hinted that Washington will use its Security Council veto if necessary to accomplish this.

The November 28 *Financial Times* speculated that a new arms deal will also emerge from the present round of U.S.-Portuguese talks. "Reports published in Washington recall the advent of sophisticated ground-to-air missiles being used by the insurgents in Guinea-Bissau. They cite intelligence accounts of deliveries to the FRE-LIMO in Mozambique of long-range Soviet rockets and other advanced weapons. The implication is that the U.S. will be asked to supply counter-weapons as part of the new deal."

The Nixon administration lobbied heavily to defeat a proposed congressional amendment to the foreign-aid bill that would have prohibited economic or military aid that could provide direct support for the Caetano regime's wars in Africa.

Portugal appears well placed to resist the Arab oil embargo, which was imposed following an appeal from the foreign ministers of thirty-eight African governments. Its Angolan colony produces nearly 9 million tons of crude oil a year, far more than Portugal's annual consumption of around 6.5 million tons.

The largest oil company operating in Angola is Cabinda Gulf Oil, a subsidiary of Gulf Oil Corporation, which first discovered oil in the Cabinda enclave of Angola in 1966 and is now producing about 150,000 barrels a day (7.5 million tons annually).

Other companies involved in oil prospecting and production in Angola are Texaco; the French oil monopoly, Total; the Belgian monopoly, Petrofina, through its subsidiary, Petrangol; and the Portuguese company Angol, whose parent company, Sacor, is backed by Total. These other companies expect to produce more than 1.2 million tons in 1974.

The possibility of vast undiscovered oil reserves in Angola has attracted many other would-be prospectors. By the end of 1972, sixteen firms had applied for concessions from the Portuguese government. The November issue of the *Standard Bank Review* considered that "because of developments in the Middle East considerable interest is expected to be shown in the regions of Angola where oil is known to exist but where concessions have not yet been granted."

But Portugal has been unable to import much Angolan oil because of its usually high wax content, which makes it unsuitable for Portuguese refineries. In 1972, while Cabinda Gulf exported almost all its oil to Canada, the United States, and Japan, most of Portugal's oil imports came from Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and Abu Dhabi. Only 7.7 percent of Cabinda Gulf's exports went to Portugal.

The Nixon administration is therefore expected to exchange U.S. oil for that from Cabinda, according to the November 28 *Financial Times*:

"Informed speculation is that as part of the Azores airlift deal the Cabinda oil is being taken by the U.S. in direct exchange for crude that is more suitable for Lisbon's refinery needs. (This is already to some extent a requirement of the standing agreement between Gulf and the Portuguese Government.) Hence Lisbon's confidence despite the reported threat of a 'total trade boycott' by Arab countries." □

Just Keeping in Practice

The Australian government is disbanding a board of "wartime" postal and telecommunications censors that has been operating since 1950.

Peruvian Junta Sees New Threat From the Left

General Juan Velasco Alvarado has "bluntly warned" political opponents and revolutionists in Peru that they will be "in for trouble" if they do not stop agitating against his "progressive" military regime, correspondent David Belnap reported from Lima in the December 14 *Los Angeles Times*. Only one group was mentioned by name in the warning: the FIR (Frente de Izquierda Revolucionario—Front of the Revolutionary Left, the Peruvian section of the Fourth International), which is headed by Hugo Blanco, now in exile in Sweden.

The warning appeared in "Revolutionary Antenna," a column printed in *Expreso*, a progovernment newspaper. Written anonymously by a top government official, the column accused "ultra-left extremists" of "threatening an armed guerrilla struggle" against the military regime. It called on the Ministry of the Interior to "act immediately to behead this action." Belnap noted that the column often gives advance indications of the regime's plans.

The threat came as a direct response to the strikes and demonstrations of teachers, students, and trade unionists in November that paralyzed the three major cities in southern Peru and led to clashes with the police. The junta put the death toll at four, but Belnap reported that reliable unofficial accounts placed it at forty.

Charges of impending "guerrilla activities" are commonly used by Latin American regimes as an excuse to intimidate political activists and physically crush strikes and demonstrations. The minister of the interior announced: "The forces of public order have discovered that in order to exacerbate the conflict, the extremists intended to use arms and explosives stored in Puno and Arequipa." The governor of Ayacucho blamed the unrest in that province on "paid counter-revolutionaries ranging throughout the country" and on "foreign students."

While the warning that appeared in *Expreso* mentioned only the Trotskyist FIR, the threat is also directed against other groups that oppose the military junta. In 1971, after a similar "un-

authorized" teachers strike, leaders of the union were deported by the junta, as was Hugo Blanco, the head of the FIR, who had supported the strikes. Last September, two socialist intellectuals, Anibal Quijano and Julio Cotler, were also deported. The danger posed by the *Expreso* article should be clear to all revolutionists.

However, in his description of the FIR David Belnap made a few mistakes. "Mentioned in the column," he wrote, "was the Revolutionary Leftist Front (FIR), an organization of Trotskyite Marxists that took part with two other extremist bands in the leadership of the only guerrilla uprising in modern Peruvian history—a peasant guerrilla movement in 1965.

"The armed forces crushed the 1965 movement and imprisoned its leaders, among them Hugo Blanco, head of the FIR and probably Peru's best-known pro-insurrectionist among FIR's counterparts in other Latin nations.

"In a general amnesty three years ago, Peru's armed forces regime freed the 1965 guerrilla leaders, including Blanco, who now lives in exile and who recently published a volume of revolutionary theory entitled: 'Land or Death—the Peasant Struggle in Peru.'"

Belnap muddled together the peasant movement organized and led by Hugo Blanco in the early sixties with the guerrilla activities launched by leaders of the MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left) in 1965. The three guerrilla fronts set up by Luis de la Puente, Guillermo Lobatón, and Ismael Paredes in March 1965 were destroyed within a year by the Belaunde Terry regime. In fact, Hugo Blanco was in prison throughout the course of that guerrilla offensive, having been arrested in May 1963 for his part in the peasant movement.

Such a mixing up of the two struggles falsely casts the FIR to fit the junta's "guerrillaist" scenario. Writing from prison in 1965, Hugo Blanco criticized the MIR's guerrilla actions

because of the lack of involvement of the masses. He called for the organization of peasant unions and the formation of a peasant militia to defend the land expropriations in the example of the 1962-63 movement. Such a militia should be directly tied to the struggles of the masses, Blanco argued, not carried out as isolated military actions like those of the MIR. By charging the FIR with guerrillaism, the junta hopes to make it an easier target.

The "Revolutionary Antenna" column also expressed concern over the weakening control of the CGTP (Confederación General de Trabajadores del Perú—General Federation of Peruvian Workers) over the labor movement. The column accused "anarchists of the ultraleft of organizing to sabotage from within," and of trying to reorient the CGTP "toward a policy of violence for the seizure of power."

The Peruvian Communist party, which dominates the leadership of the CGTP, openly supports the "progressive" military regime and helps it keep the labor movement in check. One of the slogans at the Communist party's sixth national convention, held in November, read: "Make Velasco secure and strike hard at the Yankees."

But during the November strikes, pressure from the CGTP ranks forced the regional council of the CGTP in Arequipa to pledge its support to the strikers. In an interview printed in the April 15-30 issue of the Venezuelan magazine *Summa*, Blanco mentioned that the FIR was carrying out activities both *inside* and *outside* the CGTP. The threats of the Velasco regime are thus also directed against the militant trade unionists within the CGTP.

Belnap's article gives some indications of discontent within the Communist party itself over its "broad front" policy of supporting the military regime. "Some restless youthful elements," he wrote, "want to overhaul the party leadership, believing that the old guard has become stodgy, bureaucratic and nonrevolutionary." □

Chile After the Coup d'Etat

By Jean-Pierre Beauvais

[The editors of *Rouge* announced in the October 19, 1973, issue of the French Trotskyist weekly that they planned to publish a series of articles on the coup d'etat in Chile and its meaning. Some of the articles would represent opposing views on various aspects of the counterrevolution and how best to struggle against it. The topics to be covered in this public discussion were listed as follows:

"1. The characterization of the Popular Unity from the election of Allende to the entrance of the military into the government in October 1972, and from October 1972 to the putsch.

"2. The organs of dual power that appeared with the crisis of October 1972. The comrades of the MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria), for example, consider the comandos comunales as the principal form of popular power and explain that the cordones industriales, closer to a coordinated formation on a trade-unionist level, should be integrated solely as a component in the territorial structure of the comandos comunales. In an interview in the *Militant* (October 12, 1973), which reflects the views of the U.S. Socialist Workers party, Comrades Hugo Blanco and Eduardo Creus criticize this position as an attempt to overcome the influence of reformism in the working class by means of structures that never had the importance of the cordones and in which the proletariat's leading role was much less evident. (The interview referred to appeared originally in *Intercontinental Press*, October 8, 1973, p. 1107 — IP.)

"The relation between the structures of power rooted in the plants and territorial structures where the alliance between the workers and other layers of the poor population was sealed is not the least of the problems posed by the Chilean experience.

"3. The third question is that of the military strategy of the proletariat. From some of the statements of the MIR and those of the Chilean Communist League (a group that split from the MIR and brought out a jour-

nal, *Combate*, last August declaring its sympathy with the Fourth International), it appears that these groups still held to the strategic perspective of a prolonged revolutionary war, combining rural and urban guerrillas. They never envisaged, and conse-



PINOCHET: Starvation for the masses.

quently never prepared for, a victorious armed insurrection. So that, while they armed and trained the vanguard, and supported local self-defense actions, they do not seem to have developed any systematic perspective of arming the masses, of centralizing an armed force of the proletariat, nor preparing an insurrectional offensive comparable, all proportions guarded, to that of the Bolsheviks in October 1917. The balance sheet of this experience and that of its current extensions are likewise indispensable to the international vanguard.

"4. Today the characterization of the regime installed by the coup d'etat of September 11 poses a new question. The Chilean CP as well as the MIR speak of a fascist regime. It is true that the extent of the repression, its

savagery, evoke inevitably the specter of Nazism. But, if you wish to go beyond analogies, it is necessary to study the social basis of the junta, its real ties with big capital and imperialism, the depth of the defeat of the workers, and the state of disorganization, or otherwise, of the working class to define the new regime more precisely. Not because of any particular taste for precision. But because the orientation, the tasks, the slogans, the alliances proposed by the revolutionists depend on it. The struggle against Nazism in the Germany of 1933; the struggle against the Thieu regime in South Vietnam; and that against Francoism today, aside from the intensity of the repression which they have in common, thus do not have the same meaning nor the same implications.

"5. Finally, another crucial question is included in the balance sheet and the perspectives of the Chilean vanguard, of which the MIR today constitutes the main force. There also exist in Chile a group of Trotskyist comrades of the Fourth International who were organized in the Revolutionary Socialist party . . . There also exists the previously mentioned Communist League. For all of these militants, the construction of a solid revolutionary party is posed in a new context."

[Among the series of articles published by *Rouge*, the following was written October 29 by a member of its editorial board, following a trip to Chile immediately after the coup. Jean-Pierre Beauvais was able to talk at length in the underground with members of the Fourth International and of other organizations in the far left, including leaders of the MIR, as well as with members of the parties that supported the Unidad Popular.

[The translation is by *Red Weekly*, the newspaper of the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International, which published the article in its November 16, 1973, issue.]

* * *

Seven weeks have now passed since the successful coup of the Chilean generals—seven weeks of horrible, shocking repression.

These have been seven chaotic weeks filled with massacres, summary executions, denunciations, bonfires of Marxist books, curfews, firing squads,

deaths, disappearances, massive arrests.

At the conclusion of these seven weeks we must begin to take stock of the situation. Even the sceptics and cynics have to bow before the facts: The dead have to be counted in the tens of thousands—20,000, perhaps even 25,000. Those imprisoned must be counted in the tens of thousands—about 30,000. Those who have gone underground, seeking to flee this nightmare, this hell, must be counted in the tens of thousands. The workers who have lost their jobs because they are suspected of left-wing sympathies and have been thrown into poverty or are even on the verge of starvation must be counted in the *hundreds of thousands*.

Seven weeks have passed; but the repression continues to mount. Two days ago, according to *official* sources, the courts pronounced thirty-two death sentences.

Seven weeks have passed, without any organized and coordinated response—apart from isolated and spontaneous incidents—directed against General Pinochet and his confederates. These have been, then, seven weeks of real and deep demoralization.

Beneath these shocking and unimaginable events, beneath the tears and blood of the Chilean workers, lie a multitude of political questions that we must discuss and debate with the Chilean vanguard. The first of these questions, the one that sets the framework for most other debates, in particular that on the political tasks of the left, concerns the nature of the military regime. What is its social base, who are its supporters, what are its ultimate aims?

It would be a mistake to look on the new Chilean military regime as just another military dictatorship of the kind we have seen throughout Latin American history. The Chilean military regime differs from those military governments that have come to power in a context of general apathy in that it has—and this is no exaggeration—*genuine mass support*, accorded the regime by a not inconsiderable percentage of the Chilean population.

Capitalists and petty bourgeoisie, still shaking with the fear instilled by the working-class mobilizations of the last months of the Unidad Popular government, today support the military junta blindly and without reserva-

tion. Artisans, small and largetraders, landowners threatened by the eventual extension of the agrarian reform, administrative staff in commerce and industry, and members of the liberal professions compete with one another in exhibiting their slavish gratitude to the numerous masters of the country.



LEIGH: Fond memories of Mussolini and Hitler.

There are all sorts of examples of this—examples that anyone can see and experience daily in Santiago and throughout the country.

The most sickening, and the most widespread, are the denunciations. The newspapers and radio broadcast every day in every Chilean city the telephone numbers to ring in order to denounce someone or report anyone behaving suspiciously. Day and night, twenty-four hours a day, these numbers are busy, even though there are often many of them. Thousands of calls come in each day, we were told by one telephone operator. She was non-political, but close to nervous exhaustion after the calls she has to receive and record throughout the day.

The most grotesque are the women from the middle and upper classes who queue up for hour after hour to donate a portion of their jewelery or savings to the fund for national

reconstruction. The most revolting is the unending file of thousands upon thousands of men and women, fathers leading their offspring by the hand, who come to openly and crudely exhibit their joy in front of the ruins of the Moneda presidential palace.

Because of the specific features of Chile's social and economic structure, we are dealing here with a numerically important sector: artisans, tradesmen, and small landowners represent about 30-40 percent of the total Chilean population.

The fact of their support is a key element in analyzing the nature of the regime that has been set up since September 11 and for an understanding of certain of the policies of this regime. As far as the repression goes, only the total, at times even enthusiastic, support of these groups—which do not hesitate to play on occasion the part of useful auxiliaries for the policy of repression—allows us to explain and understand the massive, vindictive character this repression has had since the very first day of the coup.

This being said, two further questions immediately arise. This support is, at present, essentially spontaneous. It is not structured, organized, or directed. Can it continue for very long? Are there any plans for the organization of these masses into an actual fascist or semifascist party?

There are not at present any precise plans under way on the part of the military. Air Force General Leigh, who is described as the strong man of the military, has turned himself into a specialist in constitutional law and is drawing up a new constitution. The other day he offered the results of his first thought on Chilean television.

These had a surprising frankness. There were plenty of historical references: Mussolini? Not bad. Franco? The man and the regime to whom we feel the closest. The Cortes? A model of democracy. Hitler? To be taken seriously, many things are to be learned from his example. Salazar? A master.

The military seems, in the long run, to be looking toward the establishment of a corporatist regime in which the professional organizations—those of the right and far right, to be sure—will play a fundamental role. The associations of the truck owners, traders, artisans, and others of this sort will

thus see themselves rewarded for the key role they played in bringing down the Unidad Popular government.

But no one is seriously proposing the organization of a fascist-type mass party to structure these bourgeois and petty-bourgeois groups. The reason for this is quite simple: No matter how massive the support for the military regime is among these sectors, it remains in many respects superficial and subject to serious limitations. It is not support of a worked-out political plan, or a long-term or even medium-term set of economic and political policies.

It is nothing more than gratitude—often of a hysterical sort—to those who have eliminated a serious threat. As far as the medium and long terms are concerned, even in the absence of a clearly worked-out plan at the present time, the first tentative moves made by the military allow us to evaluate with very considerable accuracy the policies that they are putting forward.

The generals are not planning on policies that will serve the interests of the middle and petty bourgeoisie, but policies that coincide with the interests of the big Chilean capitalists—of a few great families of the Chilean ruling class who, in conjunction with foreign (especially North American) capital, control and own, in a remarkably concentrated fashion, the decisive sectors of the economy.

This is how we must understand the recent appointment of the director of *Mercurio*, the journal of the big bourgeoisie, to the Ministry of Economics. Besides its "journalistic" activities, this publication is the source of the power of several of these great families, the most powerful of which is the Edwards family, one of whose members is a vice-president of the international operations of Pepsi Cola.

Policies in the service of these groups, of this big Chilean bourgeoisie, linked to international big capital, must eventually come into contradiction with the interests of the small and middle capitalists. These policies will necessarily involve the rationalization of the economy, a modernization of the economic network, which in many cases will go against the interests of the excessive number of small artisans, traders, intermediaries of all sorts that characterizes the Chilean economy. In the shorter term the harsh measures taken by the junta

to suppress the black market—the illicit traffic of all sorts that flourished under the Unidad Popular—will mean a severe fall in the income of these sectors.

As soon as the first moment of enthusiasm passes, the awakening promises to be harsh and bitter for all these backers of the massive repression. This makes it easier to understand why the junta does not plan on organizing the present mass support for the regime into political structures under these conditions, and that there is therefore no perspective for a mass fascist movement.

Another element that must feature in the analysis of the military regime is the repression that it is carrying out, which has become the very axis of its politics. It is not so much a question of the quantitative extent of this repression (about which much has been said, and which we must ceaselessly take up), but the qualitative nature of this repression: Who is it primarily directed against and what are its objectives?

In the short term the massive repression that Pinochet and Company are carrying out has an obvious purpose: to nip in the bud all attempts at, all possibility of, resistance to the coup. Given the level of mobilization of the masses and the importance of the organizations of the left and the far left, it has been necessary to strike quickly and hard to dismantle the left organizations, both political and trade-union, to liquidate physically their cadres and most active militants.

This is certainly an essential aspect of the repression. It aims at the systematic destruction, the physical liquidation, of the organized Chilean workers movement. But (and this has rarely been stressed before now) the repression goes beyond this. The policy of repression is not only aimed at the destruction of the organized workers movement, but is directed against the entire working class.

For example, how is the repression carried out in the factories? After having crushed the various centers of resistance in the factories, the military arrested—and often executed on the spot—the officials and local leaders of the left-wing parties, along with the administrators appointed by the Unidad Popular government. They appointed the former owners and managers as administrators. Then

they called together the workers, organizing virtual general assemblies—but with the participation of armed troops.

In many cases, either following denunciations extracted under threats of violence, or after turbulent mass meetings, an execution squad went to work under the eyes of the general assembly, shooting known or identified "ringleaders" who were present. Afterwards, the terrorized workers were told that only the docile and nonpolitical would be reemployed. In the most important firms, all sympathizers, supporters, or militants of the Unidad Popular parties were dismissed.

The leaders of the MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left], trade-union officials, and members of the Communist party Central Committee still on the spot all agree that today at least 30 percent of the Chilean working class has been dismissed from employment, is without work, has no hope of finding any, and is reduced to poverty or starvation. When it is realized that prices have risen by 400 to 600 percent in two weeks, that they are due to rise by 1800 percent between now and the end of the year, it becomes clear that the expression "starvation" is to be taken in its most literal sense.

Beyond the organized workers movement, it is really the working class—as a class—that is hit by the repression and that the military literally wishes to demobilize and dismember. (One sector has been almost totally spared the repression: the copper mines, which account for 80 percent of exports. There, none of the social gains have been abolished, and even the trade-union officials adhering to the Unidad Popular—a minority—have been left untouched. The big bourgeoisie and imperialism know how to be merciful when their fundamental interests are at stake.)

Today, no matter what possible developments may lie in the future, there can be little doubt that the features of the Santiago regime—the repression, the political aims (openly proclaimed or not), the mass support of the small and middle capitalists (even if not organized in a mass party, as was the case in Europe of the 1930s)—are those of a fascist regime, such as exists nowhere else in contemporary Latin America. □

How We Overcame Ultraleftism in Defense Work

[The following interview with James P. Cannon, the founder of the American Trotskyist movement, was granted to Syd Stapleton October 29, 1973.

[The interview begins with a reference to the Political Rights Defense Fund. This is a committee seeking public support for a \$27-million suit for damages filed last July 18 by the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance against Nixon and other government officials.

[The suit charges that government agencies, including the Federal Bureau of Investigation, carried out illegal wiretapping, mail tampering, job discrimination, and harassment of SWP and YSA members and supporters. It also cites incidents of SWP campaign headquarters being fire-bombed, bombed, and burglarized.

[Contributions to help finance the suit can be sent to: Political Rights Defense Fund, 150 Fifth Avenue, Room 737, New York, N. Y. 10011.]

* * *

Question. What is your opinion of the Political Rights Defense Fund?

Answer. It's a proper and correct procedure to exploit every possibility to utilize what cracks there are in the bourgeois-democratic system to advance our ideas. It's like taking part in their elections. It's wise to utilize a situation like this to explain our ideas to a wider audience.

This wasn't known to the old radical movement. The old radical movement tended toward the ultraleft view that courts are crooked instruments of the capitalist class, so why bother? Ignore them. Including the elections. That was the prevailing opinion of the syndicalists and red-socialist wing in which I was.

But I don't blame myself for being an ultraleftist in those days. I didn't know any better and there was nobody to teach us better. The only ones who spoke the other way were the right-wing socialists who thought you could accomplish everything through the ballot box. We were pretty sure that was false.

It was not until after the Russian revolution and Lenin wrote his pamphlet on the infantile sickness, explaining how revolutionists could utilize parliamentary action effectively, that we got straightened out on that. It was so damned simple and so convincing that I don't have any patience with people who still repeat the old arguments of the ultraleft before the Russian revolution.

I can recall instances in the early days where Lenin's approach could have been effective. One was the Lawrence, Massachusetts, textile strike of 1912. That was sixty-one years ago. It was a famous IWW strike. Bill Haywood, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Carlo Tresca, Joe Ettor, Arturo Giovannitti were involved in it.

Retrospectively, I recall one incidence that has a bearing on this question of whether you should utilize bourgeois-democratic institutions. At that time Victor Berger was a Socialist congressman from Milwaukee. He was the first

Socialist congressman in the United States. But he was a right-winger. He was the leader you might call the ultra-right wing of the Socialist party. Notwithstanding that, the strike leaders were able to use his position to gain tremendous publicity for the strike. They cooked up a wonderful idea for publicity—to take the children of the strikers on the train to socialist sympathizers in various places to be kept during the strike. It caused a great sensation. The Lawrence authorities interfered and tried to put a stop to it. The use of the police created a furor.

Then Victor Berger introduced a resolution in Congress to investigate the Lawrence strike. He got an official committee set up, and Haywood and the leaders brought the kids and women to the congressional hearings to testify about conditions. It was a wonderful publicity job that helped win the strike.

But it was not a normal procedure. Retrospectively I see it as a good example of how to use a bourgeois parliamentary institution.

Another example I recall was in 1917 when the Socialist party came out against the war. Morris Hillquit, in the New York municipal elections that year, ran for mayor and made the war question his main issue. It got tremendous publicity across the country.

I didn't realize it then because I was still a hidebound syndicalist, but I look back on it as a wonderful illustration of how even a municipal campaign can be utilized for a national political purpose.

I really rejoice over the way our party goes into these elections, national, state, and local—any place they can get an edge in and get up some kind of an audience, newspaper space, some TV or radio time, and do it without giving away anything. That's all for free.

I see all these ultrawise, ultraleft groups. What do they do? They stand around with their mouths open while we exploit the cracks and crevices in the bourgeois-democratic system without paying the slightest respect to it. You know, they can't run a bourgeois-democratic system without giving a little opening here and there. So, we take advantage of it; and we're 100 percent right!

Q. In the history of the radical movement has there ever been a crisis in government with the kind of impact that the Nixon-Watergate crisis has had? Why do you think this Nixon thing has developed to the degree it has?

A. That's what Nixon would like to know. There have been some attempts to compare it to the Teapot Dome scandal of the Harding administration. But that was a pure-and-simple graft scandal involving cabinet members and some oil companies. Public sentiment was rather "So what? Don't they all steal?"

The Communist party ran its first presidential candidates in 1924. Foster and Gitlow were the candidates. It was only a token campaign; but one of the slogans we started out with was "Down with the Capitalist Teapot Dome!"

Vote for Communist candidates for president."

Our comrades were somewhat taken aback by the reception to that. People would say, "You mean to tell us that if your guy got in there he wouldn't steal? All politicians steal." There was absolute cynicism, more or less indifference. "What the hell; so they stole a few million dollars."

I think that would have been the attitude now if Watergate had been limited to graft. What's involved in this case is the extent of the bugging, espionage, and intimidation. A large section of the population, including a large section of the middle and upper classes, got apprehensive about it.

It's not the same as the Teapot Dome scandal. There is a genuine public reaction to this scandal. You might say, multiple scandal. Every day, you expect something new to be revealed.

A columnist named Kraft. Do you know him?

Q. Joseph Kraft. He's the fellow who went to Paris and was followed by the CIA, I believe.

A. He's a prominent national columnist. He wrote an article summarizing the whole thing in one of the liberal magazines. His opinion was that this Nixon outfit and the hatchetmen he had around him were actually moving in the direction of a police state. The ruling powers in this country don't think they need that yet. The opposition comes, you know, not only from the workers. It comes from practically all circles of society. The New York Times and the Washington Post and the Los Angeles Times are all hostile to this administration. They represent real money in this country. If there is a conflict in the upper circles, the difference between the old money and the new may be involved, I think. The new tycoons don't know where to stop; they haven't learned moderation, or the need for concessions. The older ones think it's better to give a little in order to keep a lot.

Q. When the International Labor Defense had to fight cases like Sacco-Vanzetti and Mooney-Billings, was it able to take advantage of any divisions like that in the ruling class over how to react to the labor movement? Was it able to build up support for its cases through both mass propaganda work and things like endorsements?

A. Yes, there were many endorsements and they were utilized. Even lawyers were outraged at the violations of the rules of law. The Sacco and Vanzetti case was a frame-up. Everybody knew it was a damned frame-up from beginning to end.

The witch-hunt began in the early 1920s. There was a tremendous red scare and they arrested thousands of people overnight in the Palmer raids. They deported whole shiploads of immigrants who were suspected of subversion or of being connected in any way with the radical movement. They just hit on Sacco and Vanzetti in the course of a general investigation. They had no case against them at all. They framed it.

The judge was outspokenly prejudicial in all his rulings and so on. They went through with it. It was delayed by one appeal after another and by public protest for seven years. It was not till 1927 that they finally executed

them. And there were deep feelings in the movement of protest.

A couple of years ago a book was published that tried to justify the killing of Sacco and Vanzetti. The author tried to prove that Carlo Tresca had stated in one instance that while one of them was innocent the other was guilty. And since Carlo Tresca was a prominent anarchist, he thought that this was big news. He said also that I knew about it—that I thought they were guilty despite the fact that I was organizing the campaign of the International Labor Defense. He made these statements in *The New Republic*.

I immediately wrote a reply which they published under the heading "What Cannon Didn't Think."

Judge Musmano, who had been connected with the Sacco-Vanzetti Committee, and later became a prominent judge in Pennsylvania, wrote me a very, very warm letter congratulating me on my protest in *The New Republic*. Which is an indication he still had strong convictions about the case although he was by no means sympathetic to anarchism or any other radical idea.

Q. As a result of the tapes controversy and the whole development of this struggle around Nixon's role in Watergate, there's quite a bit of sentiment in various circles, from George Meany to radical students, to impeach Nixon. As far as I know, that's a totally new phenomenon. Do you have any opinion about how revolutionists should relate to demands for impeachment?

A. The only other case involved was that of President Johnson, who succeeded Lincoln. That was in 1866, over a hundred years ago. No, there has been nothing like the exposure of the Nixon administration.

He's committed to something that's unforgiveable in the eyes of the moneyed rulers of this country. He's gone too far; he's stirred up too much trouble. They want to rule the country rather calmly. They're getting plenty of benefits the way it's working. They're not ready to use police-state methods to the extent Nixon has used them.

And then there's been some bad luck. One thing leads to another. A witness incidentally mentions to the Ervin Committee that they kept tape recordings of all the conversations. My god, is that so? Accidental things like that led from one revelation to the next.

I think our press is doing all right in covering Watergate and should keep hammering away on it from our own special viewpoint that this is just an unusually flagrant example of what capitalist rule and politics are really like.

We should watch out for oversimplification. Some issues of *The Militant* may have given the impression that it was being treated like another Teapot Dome scandal, "Well, they all do it; don't they?"

But Watergate goes beyond anything previous. Even Supreme Court Justice Douglas says he suspects they tapped the Supreme Court, and Johnson suspected that his phone was tapped.

If the ruling class thought all this was necessary, they would be for it, but at present they're not for such extensive use of police-state methods. So I think we should recognize this, and without making any concessions in principle, deal more fully with the way Nixon has embarrassed the real rulers of America.

But, as I say, that's marginal. It's not a fundamental criticism of our handling of the case. I think *The Militant* is doing very well, harping on it all they can, speaking about it all they can.

This morning I received a copy of the *Workers Vanguard*.

Q. *That's Robertson's paper.*

A. Do you know what they say on the headline? "Impeachment is not enough!" (Laughs.)

Q. *He has to be hanged by the thumbs, or something?*

A. (Laughs.) Returning to what the attitude of the radical movement used to be toward utilizing the judicial and parliamentary system for revolutionary purposes. Our actions used to be purely defensive. Even in the Sacco-Vanzetti case we took a defensive position. The same was true of the Mooney case and going all the way back to the Haymarket martyrs. They were all defensive actions.

The tendency was to say the courts are crooked, influenced by the capitalist class, and so keep away from them. For instance, the idea of utilizing the courts was not known to me. I recall distinctly in the terrible persecution of the IWW during the First World War. They arrested active Wobblies wherever they could find them. They had so many they put whole groups on trial. Around eighty to one hundred were tried in Chicago. There was another big group in Sacramento, California, and another in Kansas City, Kansas, the Witchita Case, they called it.

This gives you an idea of the decentralization of the IWW and the ultraleft approach to the question of utilizing the courts. In the Chicago and Kansas cases they put up a legal defense with lawyers. But in Sacramento they adopted the policy of a "silent defense." Did you ever hear of that?

Q. *Where they refused to speak?*

A. A silent defense. They didn't have any lawyers; they used no witnesses; they didn't use cross-examination. They ignored the court. They just sat there. Just to show their contempt.

They got stiff sentences like the others, but all they accomplished by their silent defense and their refusal to employ any lawyers was to lose the possibility of appealing, getting some of their people out on bail while the appeals were pending, and organizing an effective campaign. It was a negative action. It represented the prevailing attitude of the left-wing movement that you couldn't get anything out of the courts.

Now, our policy today is different. We base ourselves on the fact that it's not a police state, it's a bourgeois-democratic state, which a lot of people think is really democratic. In order to maintain that illusion the ruling class has to give you a little leeway here and there.

The intelligent thing, as Lenin explained in his pamphlet on the infantile sickness, is that we utilize these crevices for our own purposes. The suit filed by our party in the Watergate case is a very correct tactic, a serious move to exploit the bourgeois-democratic system in an offensive action in the courts. It's correctness is self-evident when you look at it.

I noticed the New York papers carried reports of the press conference about the filing of the suit. You're going around the country speaking to audiences who wouldn't be there if this issue didn't appeal to them the way it does.

And what are ultralefts doing? Doing nothing except occasionally yapping at us.

Of course we should explain in our general propaganda that we don't expect to get much justice from the capitalist courts. The whole thing is rigged against us. But in order to maintain some illusion of democracy they've got to show some respect for law and order, so we'll take advantage of that and we'll test it out.

The Kutcher case is a wonderful example of how sometimes such a course can be successful.

Q. *Why do you think there was such a big difference between the outcome of the Kutcher case and the outcome of the Smith Act trials of the leaders of the Communist party during the same period?*

A. Well, the Smith Act trials began with our being tried in Minneapolis. All of these trials were, from the point of view of the letter of the law, illegal and unconstitutional. We were convicted of expressing certain opinions. We were not accused of any actions. The same held true for the Communist party defendants. The political climate—the war, and later the cold war—made it possible for them to get away with it. And they did. But there aren't any Smith Act cases today, are there?

Q. *No.*

A. We appealed to the Supreme Court. We kept out of jail for two years after our conviction with one appeal after another and the final decision was no decision at all. The Supreme Court refused to hear the case. Did you know that? So it left undecided whether the law was unconstitutional. Later they finally agreed to hear another case and threw out a large section of it. You don't hear a lot about the Smith Act trials any more.

Q. *Well, the question that I was raising, the reason I posed it in relation to the Communist party, is that it seems to me that because of the SWP's position of political opposition to the war, there was a clear, nearly unanimous sentiment on the part of the capitalist class that the SWP should be prevented from expressing that point of view. But later, during the witch-hunt, Jimmy Kutcher, a member of the SWP, gained enough support to win, while members of the CP like the Rosenbergs and the Smith Act defendants were virtually isolated. Obviously the question of their relationship to the Soviet Union during the cold-war period of "containing Communism" had something to do with it, but I wondered if there were other questions involved.*

A. I don't give the ruling class credit for unanimity of opinion in everything they do. Different judges act in different ways, and the Communist party was particularly unpopular during the cold war because of their connection with the Soviet Union. The witch-hunters thought they could get away with it because of the political climate, and they did.

We're not fighting this case, I hope, with the idea that

we're going to get justice. We're fighting to see if we can get a little something out of the pretense of a democratic society. If they make things absolutely airtight, and there's no chance to win any kind of a legal process and so on, then they can't make a pretense of having a democratic order. There's a great distinction between a police state and a bourgeois-democratic system. One has loopholes in it and the other is airtight, until it's overthrown.

Q. Some ultralefts have argued that it's ridiculous for socialists to try to defend legal rights that they have formally under a bourgeois government. We touched on some of those questions before in terms of the Sacramento trial of the IWW. But there are a lot of parallels between this argument and the kind of argument that it seems to me Grandizo Munis was presenting in his criticisms of your conduct in the Smith Act trial and so I wonder if you have any comment on whether or not his criticism and your answer would have any relevance to legal actions like the SWP suit today. You were making the point that there is some necessity for the ruling class to grant some democratic rights.

A. They had to grant us a trial which they wouldn't have had to do under a police state. And taking advantage of that, we used the courtroom for a forum. To do that effectively, we conducted a very prudent, dignified defense. We had our own lawyer, Albert Goldman, who was a member of the movement and on trial himself. We worked out together the questions he would ask and answers we would give. And in general we exploited the trial to the full for propaganda purposes.

I thought the Communist party made a mess of their big case in New York by engaging in so many squabbles with the judge on technicalities. The public became impatient and that hurt the defendants.

In contrast to that, our idea was just to get all the propaganda advantage possible out of the case. I don't know how long I was on the stand. Enough to make a small book. All those questions that Goldman put to me—these had all been worked out in advance. And, as far as I can remember, we didn't concede a damned thing to them. We just denied that what we were doing was illegal.

We used defensive formulas. We didn't go in there and shout for the right to use violence or anything like that. We just said the workers have a right to defend themselves and do such things as form a workers defense guard in the Minneapolis strikes.

When the prosecutor kept prodding me on it, and I kept answering defensively, I finally ended, "I think the workers have a right to defend themselves. And if that's treason, you can make the most of it!" I stood up and shouted that at them.

And the whole goddamn courtroom was stunned and he just said, "That's well spoken," and stopped.

When he questioned me about the Russian revolution, he was flabbergasted by my contention that it was a legal act. "What the devil are you talking about?" He didn't say that, but put it in lawyer's language.

I gave some more calculated arguments about revolutions and their legality, and finally said, "I don't think you'll find a more legal revolution than that!"

He said, "That's all." He just threw up his hands. "That's all."

The pamphlet we made of that testimony has been the most circulated of all our publications. I've been told many times that it's most effective in talking with new contacts: *Socialism on Trial*.

Q. I think it's being reissued along with the debate with Munis.

A. Yes, I've heard that.

Q. I have one other question. We've had a lot of experience with defense committees like the one we've set up in this case, the Political Rights Defense Fund. I'd like to know more about the ILD. How did that idea develop? Did it come from some earlier experience in the radical movement in the United States, or was it from international experience?

A. You might say it came about by accident. There was a tradition in America of solidarity in defense cases. The IWW had a defense committee called the General Defense Committee. It was strictly an IWW committee.

Going back to the Haywood case, where I first became involved in the movement as a 16-year-old kid in 1906. The Socialist party in those days was pretty strong and growing, and *The Appeal to Reason*, the socialist paper, with half a million circulation, made the Haywood trial the weekly front-page event.

Then—I don't know where it originated but it proliferated all over the country—Moyer-Haywood conferences were held of delegated bodies of the Socialist party, sympathetic trade unions, Workmen Circles, and so on. Meetings and demonstrations were organized for the defense of Haywood.

He was made candidate for the governor of Colorado while he was on trial. That was a very good stunt.

They employed the best lawyers. Clarence Darrow headed the defense. He was big news himself, he was so famous. The central national defense was controlled by the union because they had to collect a lot of money.

The general procedure was that when someone was arrested, his own organization would set up a defense committee. They'd ask for the support of others, but they didn't broaden out the defense committee. The Sacco-Vanzetti defense committee, in fact, was a little group of Boston anarchists, who kept tight control of everything. The campaign didn't get under way until the International Labor Defense came in on the propaganda side. We didn't participate on the legal and financial side.

In the early twenties, after the uprisings that followed the Russian revolution, the Russian party first set up an organization of their own in Russia to collect funds and so on for the victims of the white terror in Eastern Europe.

In early 1925, when we were there to attend a plenum, a proposal was made to organize international support for the victims of the white terror. The organization was to be called the International Red Aid. Its primary function would be to collect funds and to protest on behalf of the victims of the white terror.

We talked about this in our delegation. We had the

custom of congregating in Bill Haywood's room in the Hotel Lux. Bill Haywood and I were talking about it one day, and we came up with, "By God, we ought to do something about the American prisoners." There were a lot of them. There were over a hundred men still in jail from the old prosecution, and new criminal-syndicalist prosecutions were under way in various states. "We ought to do something about the Americans. We ought to broaden this thing out and make the committee take responsibility for the American prisoners—really Americanize the American section."

The more we talked about it, the more the idea took hold. I was then a member of the Political Committee of the Communist party and all I had in mind was just to promote the idea. Get it accepted in Moscow and then, when we came back, have the PC endorse it, take the initiative, get hold of somebody, and do it.

Well, when we got back, I went before the Political Committee for the first meeting, explained what had developed in Moscow, what the proposal was. The fact is that while we were in Moscow, they had sent delegates to the different countries to promote the International Red Aid idea. Their representative here had presented a formal motion that the PC support it. International Red Aid membership cards had already been printed. A very quiet, inoffensive operation—they were going to organize a few committees, get a few dollars for the victims, and let it go at that.

Well, my idea was to expand the operation and make something out of it. The committee immediately adopted my plan. "My idea," I said, "is not only just to have party members. Let's go out and get some prominent people to support it."

There was a defense committee in Pittsburgh on a special case there. There was a defense committee in Chicago on some still pending case of the Communist party. Some old Wobblies might become interested because they had friends still in prison.

I got Ralph Chaplin interested. He wasn't active in the IWW but he was sympathetic. And so were two or three other prominent ex-Wobblies. An ex-Wobbly was not somebody who had repudiated the movement, but somebody who had simply dropped out for personal reasons. They were well-known people. We made them members of the Executive Committee. And in fact in the Executive Committee, as we laid it out in our plans, the majority would consist of nonmembers of the Communist party, people who were sympathetic to the general idea.

The more we talked about it, the more enthusiasm grew. We finally decided that we wouldn't just proclaim this committee; we would organize a national conference to launch the International Labor Defense. We projected publishing a magazine. As I say, the thing simply got out of hand. I recall one meeting just before the conference was called. We were laying out the plans and came to a point about the secretary of the Chicago Defense Committee possibly being named national secretary. Some Wobbly said, "Uh, uh; you got it all wrong."

"What do you mean?"

"You're going to be secretary. You want us to hustle? Well, we're not going to hustle for some fellow we don't know. We know you and we'll support you."

Then it became evident to everybody that I had gotten so deeply involved in the thing and I was so much better known than any of the other potential candidates that I would have to take over. I had never planned on that at all.

Then Rose Karsner said she would like to come in and run the office. She was the head of another organization called the International Workers Aid, which had originally been called the Friends of Soviet Russia. It was organized during the famine of 1921 and had continued as a fund-raising organization for different countries and different movements in need of financial help, where there were famines and persecution, etc.

Q. So it had a separate office with its own staff?

A. Yes. We were going to set up a national office with a secretary and an office manager. We planned it as a big operation. She would come in and run the office so that I'd be free to travel and organize locals and one thing or another.

So it culminated in a good-sized first national conference of the International Labor Defense. We had the endorsement of a lot of prominent people, including Upton Sinclair. We announced that we were defending all prisoners—what we called class-war prisoners—in connection with labor. And there were quite a bunch of them. There was a large number of IWWs in different cases. Mooney and Billings were in prison. The Centralia fight had resulted in a dozen Wobblies being imprisoned. Then we discovered that in Texas, Cline and Rangel, who had been helping Mexican revolutionists, had been framed up and were serving long sentences. In San Quentin were a lot of people who had been sent up under state criminal-syndicalist laws. Up in Maine there was a case. It added up to about 140 people. We said we will help all of them; we'll raise money to send a monthly stipend of \$5 a month to every prisoner for commissary.

A commissary is a place in prison where you can buy a little extra stuff. It's very important. You get the routine meal. But if you have a little money you can buy candy bars, cigarettes, cookies, apples, oranges, and things like that. It makes a big difference.

We would send \$5 a month to each prisoner and we would send \$25 a month to their families, if they had a family. Then we would plan—without promising definitely—we would plan to raise a Christmas fund to give a bonus of \$25 or \$50 to every prisoner for Christmas. We would publicize all their cases through our magazine and other media. It was a very enthusiastic national conference.

The plan outlined in the constitution made it a membership organization. Anybody sympathetic to the cause could join. Ten cents a month dues and donate whatever you could and if you had a little extra money, send it in to the national office.

We organized locals all over the country and not only that, we put in full-time district organizers in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and places like that—Cleveland. Full-time organizers! They coordinated local branches and stirred up activity. The thing took hold and was quite well received.

In 1925 we started the *Labor Defender*. It was an illustrated monthly magazine. In the magazine, on which Max Shachtman was the editor and worked full time, we decided to revive all the old cases. We told the story of the Haymarket martyrs, and Mooney and Billings. We put out a special edition on the lynching of Frank Little in Butte, Montana. We publicized the Sacco-Vanzetti case and campaigned on other cases. It was the most popular magazine in the radical movement. Sold wider than the party press.

The second national conference was in 1926. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was brought in. She had been very prominent in the IWW. She became national chairwoman and was sent on a national tour. The third national conference in 1927 was held under the slogan: "Third National Conference of the International Labor Defense,

Fortieth Anniversary of the Haymarket Martyrs." Lucy Parsons, the widow of the martyr, was the guest of honor. These things were very effective in stimulating a sense of solidarity in the radical movement.

And throughout all that period we kept up our obligation. We sent \$5 a month to every one of the one hundred prisoners regardless of what organization they belonged to; but we didn't send it over the head of their own committee. For example, for members of the IWW, we sent it in a lump sum to their general defense committee to distribute; so that we were not interfering with the work of any of the other committees.

Our work was propaganda and agitation, and legal defense only if it was needed. New cases were brought to us and we had quite a number of those. Our Christmas fund was very popular. □

REVIEWS

'Times Literary Supplement' on 'Bulletin of the Opposition'

[The following review of the *Bulletin of the Opposition* appeared in the November 23 London *Times Literary Supplement*.]

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The *Bulletin of the Opposition* was a publication unique in the history of journalism; indeed, one hesitates to use about it the term "journalism." Its founder, editor, main contributor and inspirer was Leon Trotsky. He was expelled from the Soviet Union by Stalin in the winter of 1929; and only a few months after he set foot on the shores of the god-forsaken Turkish village of Buyuk Ada on Prinkipo Island the first issue of the *Bulletin* made its appearance.

In spite of overwhelming difficulties, both financial and technical—the paper, printed in Russian, was harassed and chased from Paris to Berlin and finally to New York—it continued with some semblance of regularity for eleven years, until the assassination of Trotsky in Mexico in 1940. It carried topical comments on current developments within the Soviet Union and the Communist International, and provided a Marxist analysis of the main political events in the turbulent last pre-war decade. Here was a journal with very little of the journalistic

ephemeral; with the passage of time its value as documentary source material has significantly increased.

The *Bulletin* was to be Trotsky's only weapon in his unequal struggle with Stalin, the main platform from which he could refute the slanders and accusations fabricated by the "Stalinist school of falsification," and spread far and wide by all the means at the dis-

Bulletin of the Opposition, edited by Leon Trotsky. Four volumes in Russian: the complete chronicle of the Soviet Left Opposition (1929-1940). New York: Monad Press, 1973. 1,904 pp. \$160. Exclusive distributor: Pathfinder Press.

posal of an established State. Compared with the barrage of propaganda emanating from the Kremlin, the voice of the *Bulletin* was faintly heard. Yet in the first years of its existence, ruthlessly banned by official censorship, it nevertheless percolated even into the Soviet Union. It was smuggled in by Russian diplomats returning home, by party men on various assignments abroad, by members of embassies and trade missions. It was passed stealthily—like Samizdat material of today—from hand to hand, eagerly read and

commented upon even in Stalin's entourage. A foreign communist at that time in Moscow remembered how "the choice morsels of Trotsky's anti-Stalinist invective" were repeated in whispers in the corridors of power.

Up to the end of 1932, the traffic was not one way only: first openly, then by secret and conspiratorial means, Trotsky's sympathizers still at large, and those of his followers already confined to prisons or punitive colonies, supplied him with ample information on what went on within the Soviet Union. Not only letters, but long theoretical treatises, in minute script on rough wrapping sheets or cigarette paper packed into a matchbox, landed on Trotsky's desk in Prinkipo, bringing with them a chilling blast from the wastes of Siberia. If only readers in the West had, in the early 1930s, paid more attention to the Letters from Exile from various "isolators" and camps, perhaps the "revelations" of Khrushchev, *The Tales of Kolyma* or the story of Ivan Denisovich would have been much less startling. After 1931-32, as Stalin's grip on the country tightened and persecution of all shades of opposition grew more ruthless, Trotsky's underground contacts became only sporadic, until they ceased altogether.

The tragic story of the Opposition's

slow disintegration occupies much space in the *Bulletin* of the first five years. Some old and tired Bolsheviks gradually capitulated and submitted to Stalin's dictates for various and complex reasons. They broke down not so much under the physical hardships of the camps—though these played their part too—but because the sudden turn in Stalin's policy seemed to render their opposition pointless. When he embarked on his "left course" and proceeded to put into practice the policy of industrialization which they had advocated a few years previously, the temptation to return to life and action proved too great. Had they known that successive zig-zags, so characteristic of Stalin's tactics, would lead them back into camps, "isolators," and finally to death, perhaps they would have acted differently.

By far the most stimulating of the *Bulletin's* contributors was Christian Rakovsky. In the wilderness of exile, in Astrakhan and Saratov, he kept himself incredibly well informed about the most intricate and detailed changes in the economic structure of the Soviet Union. His power of original thinking seemed not only undiminished but as if heightened by rapidly declining health and physical suffering. His broad survey of the state of the country written in the summer of 1931 is of lasting value. No. 6 of the *Bulletin* contains a brilliant treatise in which Rakovsky (like other Oppositionists) tries to answer the question: ". . . what happened to the energy of our party and of our working class, what has become of its revolutionary initiative, of its idealism, its heroism, its plebeian dignity. . . ." Bitterly, as if repeating Babeuf, he says: "To teach people the love of liberty, much more is needed than just to conquer and win it." "Even in deportation, even in illegality," says Trotsky with understandable pride, "Bolshevik thought does not stop working." One can trace the influence of Rakovsky's "Bolshevik thought" on Trotsky, especially on the ideas later to be developed in *The Revolution Betrayed*.

It is impossible here to do justice to Trotsky's own writings in which he immediately reacted to Stalin's political moves. He was perhaps at his scornful best in the special issue on "The Third Period of the Comintern's

Blunders," devoted to a devastating critique of Stalin's ultraradical turn in foreign policy—a turn executed with barrack-like subordination by the whole Communist International, which found itself committed to "concentrate its fire on the Social-fascists" and to reject any idea of a socialist-communist coalition against Nazism. Already in March 1930—that is, six months before the elections in which Hitler's party won six and a half million votes—Trotsky tries to awaken the Soviet party to the real danger of Nazism; for this he was branded as a panic-monger and a defeatist. In articles and pamphlets he went on raising the alarm, and his words in the *Bulletin* have a quite particular tone of urgency and immediacy.

Another subject to which Trotsky devoted a great deal of attention was the role Russia played in the Chinese revolutionary movement. In 1930 he published an "Appeal to the Communists of China and of the whole world"—an eloquent warning against the repetition of the bloody débâcle of 1927 and a plea for less pseudo-revolutionary zeal and more genuine Marxist thought. Stalin was scathingly attacked for having entrusted the fate of the Chinese proletariat to the tender mercies of Chiang Kai-shek and his bourgeois followers. The latest claim put out from Moscow that "Soviet power is already established in vast parts of China" was, as Trotsky pointed out, an obvious falsehood which could have dire consequences. Among the documents in the same issue is a letter from Chen Tu-hsiu, the "grand old man" of Chinese Marxism, one of the founders of the party, now expelled and hounded by the Stalinists for his opposition to the official line, mistrusted by the Trotskyists for his role in 1927, and persecuted by Chiang's police; he was later imprisoned, then banished and assassinated in 1943.

In his letter to "all members of the Chinese Communist Party" of December 10, 1929, Chen revealed the sordid inner story of the relations between Moscow, the Kuomintang, and the Chinese Party. He denounced the subservience to Chiang Kai-shek imposed by Moscow on the Chinese party, and quoted the cynical remark by Borodin, the emissary of the International, that the duty of Chinese

communists in the present period was "to serve as coolies for the Kuomintang." Trotsky's analysis of the Chinese scene was not always correct, some of his prognostications proved wrong, yet his writings on the subject are still worth reading for what was right in them and even for the quality of his mistakes.

The *Bulletin* makes, of course, the most poignant reading at the time when the "hell-black night" of the purges descended on Russia. It remained the only consistent voice of reason in the mass of insane accusations resounding from Moscow and echoed by the Stalinized parties abroad. The whole issue, No. 41 of January 1935, hastily brought out in Zurich, was taken up by Trotsky's commentary on the Kirov murder. The connivance of Stalin was clearly indicated, the contradictions in the official versions of events exposed, and the forecast made of a more bloody and more sinister sequel. The Stalinists responded by seeking to implicate Trotsky himself in the crime. The French Communist Jacques Duclos wrote of "Trotsky's hands covered with Kirov's blood."

When the Witches' Sabbath in Moscow reached its climax, late in the summer of 1936, and vituperations and insults were heaped by Stalin's henchmen on the "Zinovievist-Trotskyist Terrorist Centre," the chief accused was gagged and forced into silence, closely guarded by the Norwegian authorities who had interned him and would not even allow him to communicate with the outside world. No. 52-53 of the *Bulletin* carries a note from Trotsky translated from the French: "Forgive that I cannot send you the promised piece on the trial. There is certainly no lack of will. . . ." The burden of the campaign against the trial fell on Trotsky's son, depicted by Vyshinsky, the prosecutor, in the Moscow trials, as his father's deputy and "chief-of-staff." A special issue of the *Bulletin* was published in Paris, the only one to which its founder and editor did not contribute.

The four volumes under review cover a wealth of topics impossible even to enumerate in a short survey. Until recently it was extremely difficult to obtain the *Bulletin*. Odd, yet-

lowed copies were scattered among old Trotskyist militants or sympathizers, and few libraries anywhere possessed a full run of the journal.

The publication of the Monad Press, produced by a photocopying process from the original Russian issues, is, in spite of its bulk, easy to read and

to handle. Editorial identification of the articles by Trotsky, who wrote under various pseudonyms, facilitates the task of the scholar. □

DOCUMENTS

A General Strike to Bring Down Tory Government!

[In Britain the government has called a state of emergency and decided on a national lockout of the workers for two days in each week. This is a clear attempt to enforce its incomes-policy legislation, which is at present threatened by the actions of miners, railwaymen, ambulance drivers, and many other groups of workers. The following statement on the situation was issued by the Political Committee of the International Marxist Group, the British section of the Fourth International. It appeared in the December 21, 1973, issue of *Red Weekly*.]

* * *

Pursuing their aim of reducing the living standard of the working class, the Tory government has now resorted to the biggest economic lock-out and sabotage in this country's history. No one should be misled into believing that the proposals for a three-day working week are the result of an absolute shortage of energy. All the facts show that this is nonsense—there are 27 million tons of coal stocks, and oil shipments from the Middle East are continuing to rise. In any case, if there were some shortage of coal, there is an obvious answer: Grant the wage claim of the miners and railwaymen.

In fact, the three-day working week and Barber's new budget have little to do with energy, but everything to do with capitalism's need to cut living standards to maintain its rate of profit. Faced with resistance to this plan by the miners, railwaymen, and power engineers, the government has resorted to a very simple trick. By the national lock-out they hope to make other sections of the working class believe the lie that it is the railwaymen and miners who are responsible for their loss of pay, and so force them to return to work.

The *Sunday Times* newspaper spelt it out clearly when it said, "Its [the government's] desired effect is to get the miners and railwaymen to submit to an accumulation of pressure from fellow workers faced with the dole." The stakes in this are very high. The employers' magazine *The Economist* has said that if the miners could be defeated, Heath could look forward to a year without strikes for higher pay or against the rising unemployment that is going to develop in the next year. In short, the Tories are trying to inflict a massive defeat on the working class.

The responsibility for the fact that the government is in a position to carry out such an attack rests squarely with one group of people—the present leadership of the work-

ing-class movement. The working class is *potentially* in a position of overwhelming strength. Over five million workers still have wage claims in under Phase 3, and the trade-union movement this year has grown to over 11 million members. Against the united use of this enormous strength the employers and government would be helpless.

But instead of waging a united struggle, the trade-union leaders have allowed the strength of the working class to be split up as different groups of workers go into struggle separately. Some unions, for example the AUEW [Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers], have not even taken national action. It is this failure to launch united action which has left the way open for the Tory government to step in and further divide the working class. Even now this policy is being continued: Len Murray [secretary of the Trades Union Congress], instead of summoning up the forces of the trade unions for a united struggle, has stepped in to try to get the railwaymen back to work.

These policies must be reversed. If the present Tory onslaught is to be defeated, measures such as the following must be taken immediately.

1. Smash Phase Three. No Retreat on the Wage Claims—United Strike Action to Win the Claims in Full.

If the government and employers' attempt to drive down the living standard of the working class is to be defeated, it is vital that all the wage struggles against Phase 3 be successful. There is nothing the employers would like more than for the working class to forget about breaking Phase 3 to pieces and, instead, fall back on purely defensive struggles. But the big battalions of the working class—the miners, engineers, railwaymen, and so on—are still undefeated, and the relation of forces has not changed in favour of the employing class. Smashing a hole right through Phase 3 is the best way to defeat the employers and the government and open the way to winning all the demands of the working class. *This means first of all a united national strike by miners, engineers, and railwaymen, but with power engineers, ambulancemen, and other groups of workers drawn in as well.*

Already an agreement has been reached between ASLEF [Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen] and the NUM [National Union of Miners] that the miners will not allow coal to be shifted from rail to road transport. This is a move in the right direction, but it is still

far too little. The ASLEF and the miners must make an open *public* initiative for a uniting of all claims against Phase 3 or any new phase of the incomes policy. Steps must be taken at the local level as well. When Ernie Roberts of the AUEW spoke at the South Wales miners rally, a small step was taken towards miners-engineers unity. Miners have also been invited (for example, at Sheffield) to speak at engineering shop-stewards meetings. All these steps must be stepped up enormously, and at all meetings held to discuss individual wage claims representatives of other workers with claims in must be invited to speak, so that plans for united action can be drawn up.

2. Work or Full Layoff Pay. No Sackings.

The present crisis, like all others, is a product of the capitalist system. None of the burdens of this crisis should be accepted by the working class. All existing layoff-pay and guaranteed-wage agreements must be enforced and such protection extended to all other sections of the working class. Claims for full layoff pay must be put in by every section of the working class, and these must be backed up by strike action if rejected. Sackings and unemployment should not be tolerated. The world economy in recession would bring about big moves towards increased unemployment next year. Barber's budget will now increase this trend.

Any refusal by an employer to meet the demand for five days' pay, any attempt at a lock-out, and any move towards sackings as firms try to rationalise and cut costs must be met with occupation-strikes. These occupied factories must be used as a base from which to organise for the counter-offensive of the whole working class against the bosses and the government, drawing ever wider layers into struggle for a general strike.

3. Put Power and Other Vital Industries Under Workers Control.

A whole number of workers-control measures are relevant in the present situation. Workers in public and private transport should use these facilities to transport flying pickets and prevent the bosses from sabotaging the movement of supplies of foodstuffs and other essential materials. Power workers should exercise workers control in the power stations in order to ensure that occupied factories or other industries and installations seized by the workers are not deprived of electricity.

The propaganda offensive of the ruling class must be broken. On November 13, Heath had all the Fleet Street editors attend a special briefing at 10 Downing Street to plan the campaign of lies against the working class movement. The print workers and journalists must break this offensive by refusing to produce and print such lies. Workers on the *Evening Standard* showed the way in the last power-workers dispute by refusing to print material attacking the power workers. Printing plants can be taken over and used to produce material for the working class, as was done by Briants at the time of the Freeing of the Five.

4. Open the Books.

The facts about the current ruling-class manoeuvre must be made known to everyone so that the government's lies can be exposed. Some of the facts are already coming to light. But all the records, plans, and statistics must be opened up for inspection. The TUC [Trades Union Congress] must demand the complete opening of all the books. But workers must not wait for this. In hundreds of firms and government departments the vital records pass through the hands of workers every day. Groups of workers must organise the publishing of every single fact on the real state of the economy. On this basis the trade unions and other working-class organisations must draw up plans for the working of the economy and the allocation of materials under workers control. This is the vital step towards the only real economic solution—the creation of a socialist planned economy.

5. End the Emergency Power Laws—Defend the Working Class.

The government still has at its disposal the Emergency Powers law, put into operation a month ago. This gives it virtually unlimited power to commandeer supplies and use the police and army against the unions. The army has already been used in the Glasgow firemen's dispute. An immediate demand must be made for the ending of these laws and for the defence of pickets, and the organisation of picketing pools must be launched in every area. There must be a direct appeal from all working-class organisations—above all from the TUC and the Labour Party—to the army rank and file, calling on them to refuse to strikebreak and attack trade unionists.

6. Organise a General Strike to Bring Down the Tory Government.

None of the measures needed to deal with the present crisis can be carried to success as long as the Tory government is left in office to mastermind the present economic sabotage and attacks on the working class. While simply removing the Tories will not solve all the present problems (only the destruction of capitalism will do that), nevertheless smashing the present government is a necessary step to begin to solve all the problems which confront the working class. This government is vital for the ruling class. It will not be got rid of by namby-pamby action of pleas. Only the most united and decisive action can be sure to force the Tories out—this means a *general strike*. This is the aim which the working-class movement must now set itself. A general strike can achieve more than the downfall of the Tories. It can open up the way to socialism. In particular, it can begin to put the control of the economy and the organisation of the state in the hands of the working class. It can begin to move towards a *new type* of government—not like past Labour governments which based themselves on the capitalist state (the police, army, and civil service) and which, as a result, could not act against the capitalist economy, but a real *workers gov-*

ernment which bases itself on the organisations of the working class born out of mass struggle.

7. Recall the TUC. End Talks With the Government

The present leadership of the working-class movement must be forced to show where they stand—whether they intend to fight the Tories or to cave in. They must be called on to come out into the open with their proposals for organising the struggle. If they adopt a fighting programme of the type we have discussed (which we don't believe for one moment they will), then that would unite the working class and take it forward. If they don't, then it will be clear to everyone serious about fighting the Tories that action must be taken independently.

The demands of the AUEW and other unions for a recall [congress of the] TUC must be taken up and turned into a crescendo. If there is a recall congress, it must be accompanied by one-day strikes and the biggest lobby in history. All talks between the TUC and the government must be ended. Heath has no intention of making any significant concessions. It is an outrage, a betrayal, that at this very moment the TUC is preparing for another round of talks with the government in the National Economic Development Council, rather than mobilising the working class for struggle.

8. Build Councils of Action.

Whether the TUC fights or not, the greatest possible organisation of united struggle at local level will be needed in the days ahead. The traditional way the working class has responded to this need—the way it acted in 1926—is to establish a Council of Action in every area. These could unite every single group of trade unionists and

draw in tenants, students, and other allies of the working-class movement. The role of such councils in preparing for and organising the working-class response is vital. They can organise united struggles for wage claims, unite the fight for layoff pay, coordinate the occupation of factories, take over control of local stocks of coal and other supplies, organise distribution of materials, organise workers self-defence against police or army strike-breaking, publish the facts of real supplies of material, make contact with the power workers, and so on. It is an urgent matter of the hour to set up a Council of Action in every area.

There are many ways this can be done. Probably the best is to set one up through emergency meetings of Trades Councils and special conferences called by them—but in other areas it could be through appeals from the local CEU [Confederation of Engineering Unions], by shop stewards committees, etc.

The important thing at present is not how Councils of Action come into existence, but that they are actually set up. While no one should wait for the TUC to act before these steps, the TUC should be called on to promote the setting up of Councils of Action in every area.

On the basis of this type of programme the present crisis can be turned into a victory for the working class, a chance to open up the way to socialism. Of all these demands the most urgent ones which must ring out in the working-class movement are:

- No retreat on the wage claims: Smash Phase 3. United action to win the claims in full.
- Break up all lock-outs with occupations; fight for full layoff pay.
- Recall the TUC.
- Build Councils of Action in every area.
- Organise a general strike to bring down the Tory government. □

Joint Statement of Israeli and Arab Revolutionists

[The following statement was jointly issued November 20 by the Israeli Socialist Organization (Matzpen-Marxist) and the Revolutionary Communist Group. Matzpen-Marxist is an anti-Zionist group composed of Jews and Arabs in Israel; the RCG is a Lebanon-based Arab revolutionary group which publishes the journal *el-Mounadil* (The Militant). Both are supporters of the Fourth International.

[The importance of the statement transcends the relatively small size of the two organizations in that it points the way toward an internationalist anti-Zionist revolutionary struggle.

[The statement first appeared in the December 14 issue of the French Trotskyist weekly, *Rouge*. The translation

is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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On the occasion of the fourth Arab-Israeli war, we Jewish and Arab revolutionary Marxists, adherents of the Fourth International in the Arab countries and within the Zionist state itself, are determined to express jointly our viewpoint, which is that of proletarian internationalism.

Revolutionary Marxists are not neutral in the war between the Zionist state and the Arab bourgeoisies. We support the struggle of the Arab peoples against the Zionist state, a colonial phenomenon and the number one bastion of imperialism in the

Arab East, an enemy not only of the Arab masses, but also of the Jewish masses, whom it leads into permanent war against the struggle of the Arab peoples for national and social emancipation.

Revolutionary Marxists' support for the war against the Zionist state in no way represents support to the policies of the Arab bourgeoisies. On the contrary, the revolutionary Marxists' duty is to show the Arab masses that in the conflict with the Zionist state, the bourgeoisies of the Arab countries are not aiming at the victory of the Palestinian Arab people's national cause (its right to return to the territory from which it was expelled and to live free of any national oppres-

sion), which necessarily implies destruction of the Zionist state. Rather, the Arab bourgeoisies are aiming at creating, behind the backs of the Palestinian masses, the basis for "peaceful coexistence" with the state of Israel.

The whole purpose of the agreement now being worked out through the intervention of American imperialism and with the support of the Soviet bureaucracy is to block the revolutionary process for which the Palestinian cause has been a catalyst. In exchange for an Israeli withdrawal from the territories occupied in June 1967 the bourgeois Arab regimes gathered under the aegis of "Saudi" Arabia, are preparing to recognize the existence of the Zionist state and to hold back the rise of the Arab socialist revolution in alliance with the Zionist state.

The role of the revolutionary Marxists is:

— In the Arab countries: to denounce the maneuvers of the Arab bourgeoisies, their capitulation to imperialism and Zionism, and their betrayal of the Palestinian cause; to make the

necessary struggle against the "peaceful solution" a springboard for the general revolutionary struggle of the Arab masses against imperialism, Zionism, and capitalism.

— In Israel: to develop the critical sentiments arising among the masses as a result of the war into an anti-Zionist class consciousness that will allow for the breaking of "holy national unity" and for joining the Jewish workers to the struggle of the Arab masses for a united Socialist Arab Republic, the only way to guarantee not only the security of the Jewish masses but also their national rights and social emancipation.

Complete and unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli army from the territories occupied in June 1967!

No to the "peaceful solution"! No to the betrayal of the national cause of the Palestinian Arab people!

For a common revolutionary struggle of Arab and Jewish workers!

Against imperialism, Zionism, and the Arab bourgeoisies!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Delhi determines the political mood of the country, Bombay can well claim to determine the economic mood. But the two forces are not independent of but complementary to each other." (New Delhi itself had been paralyzed November 6 by a citywide strike called to protest rising food and kerosene prices. Initially called by the Communist-party-dominated trade union and other left-wing trade unions, the strike was later joined by the right-wing Jan Sangh party, which used it to express its opposition to the "left-wing" Gandhi regime. (The Jan Sangh, based on Hinduism, is India's second largest party.)

The increasing tensions in Bombay were also reflected in late December by the growing strength of the far-right Shiva Sena. Funded by wealthy Bombay businessmen and demagogically channeling the grievances of the Marathi-speaking workers against non-Marathis, the Shiva Sena has agitated against the influx of poor from southern India, who have been streaming into the city. Although newcomers outnumber the Marathis by 2 to 1, the party demands that 80 percent of the jobs in Bombay go to Marathis. In the context of widespread unemployment, and along with verbal attacks on the capitalists from Kerala, Uttar Pradesh, and Bengal, the Shiva Sena's chauvinistic rhetoric has won it considerable support from the Marathis. In a recent local election, it won 39 of 99 contested seats, making it the second-largest party in Bombay.

Fiercely anticommunist, the Shiva Sena also receives the support of the very non-Marathi businessmen it publicly attacks. These capitalists see it as a counter to the growing weight of the trade unions.

Some of the Shiva Sena rallies have drawn as many as 200,000 participants. In December, playing on a dispute between the states of Maharashtra and Karnataka, the Shiva Sena helped launch physical attacks on the Karanese-speaking minority in Bombay as part of its agitation against "outsiders." Some of the right-wing leaders even called for a "Bombay *bandh*," or general strike.

A report in the January 3 *New York Times* by Bernard Weinraub indicated that the collusion between Gandhi's Congress party and the Shiva Sena in Bombay was one of the factors that impelled the trade unions to call their own *bandh*. □

Growing Polarization in Indian City

General Strike Paralyzes Bombay

Bombay, one of India's major commercial and industrial centers and its largest port, was paralyzed January 2 by a twenty-four-hour general strike called by the left-wing trade unions. The trade-union action, which closed all factories, railways, markets, shops, and restaurants, was the biggest ever held in Bombay.

The shutdown was called to protest India's spiralling inflation: Prices rose in 1973 by more than 20 percent. The growing poverty and unemployment in the city also contributed to the general atmosphere of unrest. Of a population of more than 6.5 million, more than one million live in slums constructed of corrugated iron, cardboard, straw matting, and packing cases. An additional 100,000 simply live on the streets. The drought and famine that has swept southern and eastern India has produced an influx of poor into Bombay in search of jobs, making it the fastest growing city in the country. Under these con-

ditions, the left-wing trade unions in Bombay have been strengthened considerably in the past few years.

The strikes and protests also spread to other parts of the state of Maharashtra. In Wani, 350 miles northeast of Bombay, police fired on strikers, killing six and wounding six others. In Nagpur, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi attempted to defend the government's economic policies to a rally of 300,000, but was booed off the stage when she began speaking. Some of the demonstrators threw shoes at her.

The importance of the events in Bombay and the state of Maharashtra, which accounts for 24 percent of India's industrial production, was underlined by C.S. Pandit, editor of the *Bombay Free Press Journal*: "What's happening in Maharashtra—a state that should be humming with economic activity—is only a regional reflection of what's been happening on the national scene. Just as New